AN

ACCOUNT

OF

THE ABIPONES,

AN EQUESTRIAN PEOPLE

OF

PARAGUAY.

FROM THE LATIN OF MARTIN DOBRIZHOFFER,

EIGHTEEN YEARS A MISSIONARY IN THAT COUNTRY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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HISTORY

OF

THE ABIPONES.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE DEADLY HATRED OF THE ABIPONES, AND THEIR ALLIES THE MOCOBIOS, TOWARDS THE SPANIARDS.

The Spaniards subdued, in great measure, the Indian natives of Paraguay, sometimes by means of soldiers, but oftener by that of priests, who, unarmed, could penetrate where a soldier found no access. The former effected more with their beads, than the latter with their bullets. In the next century, however, the Abipones, grown more contumacious, would neither be conciliated by gifts, nor subdued by arms. They would not receive the Spaniards as their friends, still less as their masters, and lest conquered they should experience them as enemies, they consulted their liberty, now

fighting, now flying, as need required, sometimes availing themselves of arms, oftener of cunning and swiftness. The places of residence which they had chosen were fortified by nature, and afforded them protection against the forces of the Spaniards, so dreaded in the open field. They could not be conquered, because they could not be attacked, whilst defended by ditches and impervious woods, chiefly before they were possessed of horses. They had rather endure hunger, thirst, and concealment, than obey strangers. They resolutely refused to admit the king of the Spaniards, and the law of God—to-wit, their own happiness. It is certain that, from the age of Charles V., who united the noblest parts of America to his own Spain, the Abipones persisted in defending their liberty for upwards of two centuries, even when all the neighbouring nations had yielded to the foe. Nor were they satisfied with obstinately refusing the friendship of the Spaniards, but, intent upon every opportunity of doing mischief, overran the whole province with hostile arms. Whenever I think of the slaughters committed by the Abipones in the latter part of that century, I imagine that these savages, and their allies the Mocobios and Tobas, were reserved by an avenging God to punish the evil deeds of the Christians, as formerly the Philistines,

Jebusites, and Perizzites, in the land of Canaan, were preserved by the interposition of the Almighty, to curb the rebellious Jews, whilst all their other enemies were either destroyed or reduced to subjection.

Moreover they made a warlike alliance with the Mocobios and Tobas, equestrian savages, formidable by their numbers and resolution. Scarcely any memorable slaughter occurred in which these confederated nations did not join; to this they were incited by their unanimous hatred of the Europeans, the certain hope of booty, and their common desire of military glory. The Mocobios were never reckoned inferior to the Abipones either in stature, or in military skill; but I boldly affirm that, in atrocity and steady hatred to the Spaniards, they exceed them. Certainly in the last century they seemed to conspire to the ruin of Tucuman; proving themselves formidable, not to solitary estates merely, but to whole cities. The province was devastated by slaughter, rapine, and fire: Salta, Xuxui, the city of St. Miguel, and Cordoba, were reduced to desperation, and Estecco, formerly an opulent city, quite ruined. The city of Concepcion was rased to the ground, the inhabitants having been treacherously massacred. History does not inform us whether the Abipones were par-

takers with the Mocobios in these numerous and bloody excursions. Alonzo Mercado, Angelo de Paredo, and other Governours of Tucuman, withstood, indeed, the efforts of the savages, and conducted as many soldiers as they could muster, either Spaniards or Indian Christians, into Chaco, to besiege the fastnesses of the savages, but by a journey always difficult, and seldom recompensed by success; for, although they sometimes took and slew some of the Mocobios and Tobas in their hordes, yet the survivors, enraged by the loss of their companions, redoubled their fury, never ceasing to employ their strength, which was equal to their anger, in revenge; and success always crowned their wishes. Several fruitless expeditions of the Tucuman forces confirmed the opinion of the savages, that the arms of the Spaniards were not to be feared by them, and that they were sufficiently guarded in their lurking-places, which were either unknown to the Spaniards, or inaccessible to them; but that if, peradventure, they were overcome by numbers, they might reckon upon a victory in flight, opportunities for which were afforded them by their knowledge of the country, and by their dexterity in swimming and riding: whilst the Spaniards, with horses fatigued by a long rough journey, and encumbered by the length of

their clothes and of their arms, could with difficulty pursue the fugitives, especially if marshes, rivers, and trackless woods intervened. Emboldened by these considerations, they left nothing unattempted against Tucuman. Salta, the residence of the Governour, and other places surrounding it, were exposed to the daily assaults of the savages.

Estevan Urizar, when he came from Spain to govern the province, endeavoured to devise a remedy for the public calamity. He proposed an expedition against Chaco; seventeen hundred and eighty countrymen were chosen to attend it out of all Tucuman, beside five hundred Indian Christians, who were increased by a troop of Chiriguanos, at that time allies. Add to these, five hundred from the city of Asumpcion, three hundred from Sta. Fè, and two hundred from Corrientes. In short, such an army was raised that the savages were surrounded on all sides. The Tucuman soldiers were ordered to explore the retreats of the savages, and put them to death; the other Spaniards, who dwelt nearer the south, to prevent their escape by blocking up the roads: and if as much diligence had been employed in the execution of the project as good policy in the planning of it, the whole swarm of savages in Chaco would have been entirely subdued.

But of the Spanish soldiers who were called from the southern colonies, some delayed, others deserted, so that towards the south a way lay open to the Mocobios, who escaped, without hindrance, on every side, and took refuge in the hordes of the Abipones. But as they did not consider this situation at a sufficient distance from the attacks of the Spaniards, both people secretly removed into the vale of Calchacui. On this account Salta and the upper parts of Tucuman were relieved, for some years, from the attacks of the Mocobios, but all the storm of the war fell on the cities Sta. Fè, St. Iago del Estero, Corrientes, and the other Spanish colonies situate to the south-west. That the Malbalaes, deserted by the Mocobios their greatest supporters, accepted, or feigned to accept the friendship of the Spaniards; that the Vilelas and Chunipies agreed upon a peace: that the Lules were assembled in a town at Miraflores, and there instructed in the holy religion by Father Antonio Machoni, were the advantages which resulted from this great expedition: but, though considerable, they fell far below the wishes and expectations of the Spaniards.

CHAPTER II.

BY WHAT MEANS THE ABIPONES POSSESSED THEMSELVES OF HORSES, AND HOW FORMIDABLE THIS ATTAINMENT RENDERED THEM TO THEIR NEIGHBOURS.

HISTORY gives no account of the proceedings of the Abipones in the fifteenth century, before they settled in Chaco; but I should imagine that, being at that time, like the other Indians, unfurnished with horses, they passed their lives in ignoble obscurity, more anxious to avoid, than to attack the Spaniards. It appears from the annals of Paraguay, that in the year 1641, they possessed horses, and were become dexterous in the management of them. We read also, that they made war about this time upon the Mataràs, whom, on account of their submission to the Spaniards, they pursued with unrelenting hatred. Moreover the Abipones became formidable to the pedestrian nations on account of their reputation for horsemanship.

But do you ask me how the Abipones first obtained horses? I will tell you what I learnt from an Abipon, an hundred years of age. He informed me that some of his ancestors, before

they had obtained these useful animals, used to go privily to the lands belonging to the city of Sta. Fè, and steal a few horses, with some iron knives. They afterwards made use of these horses for the purpose of driving fresh herds from the lands of the Spaniards. It frequently happens that horses, tormented by insects or frightened by tigers, stray to the distance of many leagues. The men appointed to guard the cattle, (if there be any,) are mostly few and unarmed, always timorous, and can easily be slain whilst absent from their huts, or eluded whilst they are sleeping.

In the space of fifty years, an hundred thousand horses were driven from the estates of the Spaniards, by the Abipones. Do not imagine that I have exaggerated the number, for, calculating from conjecture, I should say it exceeded two hundred thousand, and no wonder: for young men of the nation of the Abipones often carried off four thousand horses in one assault, and as they grew in years, they increased their robberies. Cunning and a little sagacity are more requisite than strength. The Calchacuis, after they had afflicted the country about Sta. Fè with reiterated slaughters, were at last reduced to order in one conflict. Those who survived that overthrow were almost all cut off by the small-pox. The miserable

remains of this most warlike nation are yet living by the river Carcarañal, and are reckoned at about twenty people. The Abipones settled in the land formerly possessed by the Calchacuis, inheriting not their country alone, but also their hostile disposition towards the Spaniards. They took possession of all the land from the river Plata to the city of Sta. Fè, and from the banks of the Parana and Paraguay to the territories of St. Iago, the Spaniards vainly endeavouring to oppose them, and obliged to part with their ancient station, or maintain it with the loss of their lives. In the eighteenth year of this century, even women might go, without danger, from the city of Sta. Fè, and thence to Cordoba, though it is a journey of many days, even to horse travellers. That all things were safe and out of danger of the enemy may be concluded from the numerous estates of the Spaniards, which are continued all along the roads from the above-mentioned cities, but were afterwards so depopulated by the perpetual hostilities of the Abipones, that the ruins of these dilapidated buildings are now alone to be seen.

The country over which, as their own, the Abipones freely wander, extends an hundred and twenty leagues from North to South, and

as many from East to West, in many places. They are divided into hordes, according to the number of the Caciques, and frequently remove their tents, choosing that situation which is rendered most eligible by the season, security, and the opportunity it affords of hunting. Having removed their women, children, and decrepit old men to a place of safety, the rest sallied forth, to plunder the surrounding colonies of the Christians, and always returned laden with heads of Spaniards, and other spoils. The crowd of captives, the droves of horses, and the success of the expedition incited others to the like daring, so that when one party returned, another quickly succeeded. Scarce a month passed in which they did not disturb the Spanish colonies with some hostile attack; and although one place alone was invaded, the whole neighbourhood trembled the more, the safer things appeared. For experience had taught them, that enemies of that kind are never nearer than when they are thought to be at the greatest distance.

It is certainly difficult to understand by what means about a thousand savages (for the whole nation of the Abipones hardly contained more who were able to bear arms) had the power of disturbing an immense province. Unanimous hatred of the Spaniards, craft,

tolerance of labour, and the alliance of the Mocobios stood them in the stead of numbers. Barreda, commander at St. Iago, repeatedly affirmed, that were he to hear that all the Abipones had been slain, ten only surviving, he should still judge it necessary to have the watch continued in every part of Paraguay. He therefore thought one tally of Abipones sufficient to distress a whole province. There was no retreat so sequestered that they did not discover, and furiously overrun; no place so remote or well fortified by nature, that they thought impenetrable. They swam across those vast rivers the Parana and Paraguay, even where they are united in one channel, and pleasantly conversing at the same time. They rode over vast precipices, sometimes ascending, and sometimes, which was still more frightful, descending, till they reached the confines of Cordoba and St. Iago, and there, alas! what torrents of blood they caused to flow! Trackless woods full of rushes and thick trees, marshes, and lakes rendered slippery with mud, they crossed with ease. That immense plain of an hundred and fifty leagues, which lies between the banks of the Parana and the Salado, is sometimes flooded to such a degree, that it resembles a vast lake; this happens after long and incessant rain; but

when, as is often the case, no rain falls for many months, that immense tract of land is so parched by the burning sky, that the smallest bird would fail to find a drop of water there.

The Abipones, regardless of these impediments, arrived at the dwellings of the Spaniards, whom they intended to kill or rob, by a journey of many days, sometimes having to pass through water, at others entirely destitute of it. I have frequently attempted the journey, both with Spaniards and Abipones, who have now laid aside their former enmity: the latter scorned to turn back, swearing that they might easily cross the deepest marshes on horseback, whilst the others declared them impassable. None of the Abipones would shrink from a journey of three hundred leagues or more, were he attracted by the hope of richer booty, or greater military glory; for neither the difficulty of the roads, nor the distance of the places, are sufficient to deter them.

As many nations worship the crocodile, the snake, and the ape, as divinities, the Abipones would adore their horses, if idolatry prevailed amongst them. Nor is it unreasonable in them to set a high value upon horses, by the use of which they have become formidable and destructive to the Spanish colonists. The

pedestrian savages, though they may entertain the same wish of annoying the Spaniards, have not the same opportunity, and consequently employ their arms more for their own defence than for the offence of the Spaniards. I shall now proceed to relate, individually, the slaughters committed in various parts of the province.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE VIOLENCES COMMITTED UPON THE CITIES STA. FÈ AND ASUMPCION.

THE Abipones sometimes alone, sometimes in conjunction with the Mocobios, distressed the city of Sta. Fè, which lay nearest them, with daily incursions, and very nearly destroyed it. Many of the country people were slain, and not a few led into captivity. Numbers, fearing that the same fortune awaited them, migrated, with their families, into safer places. Things came to such an extremity, that the inhabitants began to deliberate publicly about deserting the city. Amongst many others, the rich estate of St. Antonio was entirely ruined. Innumerable cattle, of every description, were seized and dispersed, and their owners slain. The waggons were plundered of the goods which they contained. When the security of trade, the only source of riches, was destroyed at one blow, what could ensue but famine and scarcity? The roads were so beset with savages, both by day and by night, that no one could stir out of his own house with safety, or fetch provisions from the country for the use of the city. The citizens

themselves were kept in daily fear, they so often beheld troops of Abipones and Mocobios in their streets. The very market-place was stained with the blood of the unarmed. In the year 1754, on the 10th of April, as I was revisiting this city, a noble matron, venerable for her years, and ancient family, accosted me, saying, "Oh! Fathers, what gratitude do we owe to you, who have tamed these ferocious nations, on whose account we hardly dared to breathe for so many years! I scarcely ever remember this week," pursued she, "namely the last in Lent, passed without slaughters in this city. When a pious crowd of supplicants passed in procession through the streets, how often did the armed savages rush on them, like lightning! And they seldom departed without bloody hands. I still have to lament a brother, slain as he trimmed the altar, in the court before those buildings; such was the face of affairs at that time. For the tranquillity and security, which we at present enjoy, we are indebted to you, by whom the Abipones and Mocobios have been appeased and civilized."

In that city, there was no want of intrepid men, to repel force by force; but the rest, who were deficient in vigilance, courage, and skill, were exposed to the continual violence of the savages, who never granted either peace or truce. Auxiliary bands of foot-soldiers were

sent by the Governour of Buenos-Ayres to the relief of the fainting city; but these, when they came to close fighting in the field of battle, served rather to excite the laughter of the Abipones, than to render any service to the Spaniards. Whilst affairs were in this desperate condition, like a propitious star shining forth in a furious tempest, appeared Echague, an excellent man, who in the name of the Governour, and under his authority, repressed the boldness of the savages. He knew how to conciliate their ferocious minds with gifts, to intimidate them with arms, or to repress them with frequent incursions. By these means he procured the city a little respite. But this tranquillity continued no longer than the life of its author: his successors experienced various fortune, the Indians sometimes renewing their former plunderings, sometimes promising peace, in order that they might be enabled to direct their whole force against the other cities of the Spaniards, and in that of Sta. Fè, then friendly, exchange the spoils gained from them, for knives, swords, spears, axes, glass-beads, and wearing apparel. This was admirable policy in the savages, that, whilst they carried on war with the rest of the province, they diligently maintained peace with one city, where they might purchase the

necessary supply of arms and other utensils, by the booty obtained elsewhere. I learnt many things of this traffic with the Indians, some worthy of laughter, but more which deserve indignation. Take this one instance. An Abipon entered the city of Sta. Fè, in time of peace, carrying on his horse a leathern bag containing two thousand Spanish crowns. A certain noble Spaniard, who happened to be walking in the market-place at the time, doubtless very well acquainted with the contents of the bag, offered him the red cloak which he wore; the Indian, transported with joy, gave him in exchange the whole weight of silver which he had plundered a little before from the waggons laden with Peruvian money. Great part of the Mocobios and Tobas, and most of the Abipones, being persuaded to a peace, and conducted to the various colonies which we had founded, this miserable city at last enjoyed a little rest, although the estates were not entirely free from danger; for the savages of these nations, weary of peace, lay in wait for droves of horses, but more in the way of plundering than of regular warfare. To restrain these pillagers, a Spanish company of horse was maintained at the public cost, and, headed by Miguel Ziburro, proved very useful in deterring them from their de-

predations. Three places, in particular, were the resorts of the savages, and the scenes of their robberies, *La cruz alta, El pozzo redondo,* and the estate of St. Thomas; in the one place there is a passage across the river Salado to the city, in the other a high way with waggons of traders continually passing to and fro. The estates also which look towards Chaco were endangered. The extensive province of Asumpcion, although it abounds in warlike colonists, was incredibly harassed by the arms of the Abipones and Mocobios. Who can enumerate the men that were slain, the horses and mules that were seized, the villages that were burnt, the estates that were depopulated, and the numbers of unarmed that were led into captivity? Not only on the banks of the Paraguay, but also in places far distant from that river, many and great slaughters were committed with impunity. This captaincy of Paraguay is of greater extent than the rest, yet it seems too small for the number of colonists. It contains as many soldiers as men, but they are scattered up and down the country, many leagues distant from one another, occupied, greatest part of the year, in remote forests where they prepare the herb of Paraguay, or on the banks of rivers, or in defending little fortifications of the province.

These edifices, which are constructed of stakes, mud, and straw, on the eastern shore of the Paraguay, are more properly watch-towers for observing the motions of the enemy, than fortifications for keeping them out. The few who are stationed in each of the fortlets signify the approach of the enemy by firing a cannon; this is repeated by the neighbouring sentinels, that every one, admonished of the danger, may provide for his own safety; that the Governour (for the firing, as it is repeated in all the different stations, at last reaches the city) may order convenient succours; and that all the forces may assemble in arms wherever suspicion is entertained of the enemy. But how much time is consumed whilst the horses are caught and made ready, whilst the few soldiers assemble in arms, and whilst their leader is expected! In the mean time slaughters are already committed, estates rifled, villages burnt, and the savages departed as quickly as they came. But if a tardy company of Spaniards is at length brought together, they are more rejoiced at the flight of the enemy than desirous of pursuing them. And supposing the savages to be still in sight, or at no great distance, the generals of Paraguay, unless they see themselves greatly superior in point of numbers, seldom dare to trust the

doubtful fortune of war, by a bold attack; foreseeing that they shall be loaden with reproaches, and perhaps assaulted with stones by the wives of those who might be slain in the skirmish. Sometimes the Spanish horsemen were clamorously eager to pursue the flying savages, but the generals repressed their ardour, even threatening pain of death to any who should dare to challenge or pursue the enemy.

It has always appeared quite miraculous to me, that the province of Asumpcion did not at length sink under the weight of the powerful enemies by whom it was combated for so many years. On one side was the dreadful neighbourhood of the ferocious Guaycurûs and Mbayas; on the other the daily assaults of the Abipones. Mocobios, and Tobas occasioned much danger and fatigue to the surrounding colonies. Add to these the Payaguas, most perfidious pirates, more dangerous in peace than in war: not to mention the wood-savages, the Monteses, Montarrazes, or Caaÿguas, who, though not always openly hostile to the Paraguayrian Spaniards, whilst they prepared the herb of Paraguay in woods far distant from the city, are full of enmity towards them, and justly suspected of unsound faith. See! how many nations threatened the Spanish colonists.

Two to one is odds against Hercules. We may justly call the Paraguayrians greater than Hercules, because they held out against so many enemies.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW MUCH THE GUARANY TOWNS WERE ANNOYED BY THE ABIPONES.

The Abipones thought they had done nothing, till they directed their attention towards overthrowing the towns of the Guaranies, whom they regarded with implacable hatred, because, being converted by us to the Roman Catholic religion, they not only paid obedience to the Catholic King as subjects, but also served him as soldiers in the camp, whenever they were called upon by the Royal Governours. The towns of the Guaranies, and the other estates, which are near the banks of the Paraguay and Parana, for many years, were daily more and more exposed to the fury and rapacity of the enemy. Innumerable were the Indians that were cruelly massacred, the cattle of every description that were driven away, and the youths that were made captive. Many were burnt in their own houses, where they hid themselves for fear of the swords of the enemy. The town of St. Ignatius Guazù, formerly in a very flourishing state, lost much of its splendor, and was very nearly destroyed; for it was situated in a place which affords an

excellent opportunity for stratagems to the savages, who hide themselves in the adjacent woods, whence they can easily sally forth, and soon reach the estate and the town itself. Scarcely a month passed without murder and robberies. It is incredible how much the number of men and cattle was diminished by their continual incursions. Although a watch was kept up by day and by night, no one durst promise himself security. The craftiness or boldness of the Abipones eluded all the vigilance and industry of the inhabitants. On some holy-day, when the people were attending divine service, a great crowd of savages burst into the very market-place. The inhabitants seized and threw at the aggressors whatever weapons were at hand. The Christians fought with more valour than success. The chief men of the city, and more than three hundred senators, beside many others of the common people, fell fighting before the door of the church. A great many of the Abipones were slain and wounded. The Guaranies took a Spaniard, who had grown up amongst the Abipones, having been taken captive by them at an early period of his life, and who had offered to be their leader in this as in many other expeditions. What must have been the feelings of the Jesuit priest, Francisco Maria Rasponi Bergomas, long curate of the town,

when, on looking out of the church before he had taken off his sacred robes, he perceived the heaps of dead bodies, and the streets swimming with blood? Who can express his horror? This bloody fight elated the minds of the Abipones, in proportion as those of the Guaranies were depressed by it. With greater boldness and frequency, they continued to slaughter the Indians, and to seize the cattle, both in the estate, and in the fields adjoining the city. In one day, four thousand oxen and immense droves of horses became the prey of these rapacious thieves. Let not those that read this accuse the Fathers who presided over the town of sloth or inactivity: nothing was omitted by them which seemed advisable for the security of their people. All access was forbidden the enemy by means of ditches and palisades, and additional guards armed with muskets. Scouts were dispatched every day to explore the roads. Sentinels were placed in suspected situations, as in a watch-tower. But what did all this avail? Those who were commanded to watch and to guard behaved as usual: danger was frequently the nearest when every thing was thought in the utmost security. They said their accustomed *Namaĩaichene*, "we shall be safe," and when they felt drowsy, slept without care or apprehension. Thence it often happened that

whilst they ought to have watched for the public safety, unmindful even of their own, they were surprized and slaughtered by the Abipones. In the town of St. Iago, while the people were attending divine service, the Abipones came, and of the many hundred who were keeping watch, part they slew, and part they led into captivity, having, at the first onset, carried off some hundred horses. As numerous bloody incursions were repeated within sight of the same town, few days passed without fears, or alarming reports. The same fate befel Nuestra Senhora de Fè for many years; on which account Juan Baptista Marquiseti, a man of our order, and curate of the place, surrounded it on all sides with ditches to keep out the savage horsemen, and supplied the Indians with a sufficient quantity of muskets: and his labours were amply repaid, for at length these tumults abated. Forty Indian soldiers sent from this town, and as many from the town of Sta. Rosa, to keep guard over their respective estates, perished on the fifth of February, a very few only escaping by the swiftness of their horses. On that day, alas! how great was the loss of horses and mules in both estates! Some thousands were driven away. In another place, a quantity of the herb of Paraguay, belonging to a Spanish merchant, was conveyed in many waggons from the town of Sta. Rosa to

the banks of the Parana, by Guaranies; to whom was given, as a superintendent and guard, a certain Spaniard, an active man, armed with seven excellent muskets; but without having time allowed him for loading any of them, he was surrounded by a troop of Abipones, and slain, with almost all the Indians, except two, and a crowd of horses and oxen. Fifty dead bodies were found lying on the field. I have thought proper to relate those slaughters which were most recently committed whilst I was in the country; for it would be endless to describe, individually, all which the Guaranies suffered in the space of so many years. The poor wretches, half dead at the remembrance of them, whenever they had an engagement with the Abipones, seemed to think more of undergoing death, than of inflicting it. This very fear of the Guaranies stimulated the Abipones to fresh pillaging, in proportion as it increased their confidence of victory; so that on an approaching fight, like the Spartans, they did not enquire how many the Guaranies were, but where. The terror of the Guaranies being perceived by the Royal Governour, some Spanish soldiers were hired, at his advice, and ordered to traverse the roads on horseback, for the security of their towns, to watch the march of the savages, and to repel them, or at

least apprize the inhabitants of their arrival. But the sagacity of the Abipones out-witted the vigilance of the Spanish horsemen, and their assaults were repeated with the same frequency as before, although with greater caution. In consequence therefore of the little benefit and great inconvenience which the towns derived from these guards, who were supported by them at a great expense, they were permitted to return home. But the savages were not always suffered to ravage with impunity. They not unfrequently atoned for the deaths of others by their own. Sometimes, as they were meditating an attack, they were discovered and repulsed. Sometimes they were overtaken in precipitate flight by the Guaranies, by whom they were very roughly handled, and obliged to relinquish their booty. The Guaranies might oftener have triumphed over the Abipones, would they have preserved their lives by keeping strict watch. Vigilance, as I have often observed, is the best armour against the savages. You will wonder, in reading this, that the Guaranies were such timid hares at home, when they are described by historians to have fought like lions in the royal camps, against the Portugueze, and even against the savages. They behaved nobly in the king's service, because they were governed by Spanish generals. At

home, when left to themselves, they did but little against the savages. They are swayed by the impulse of the moment, and consequently fulfil the duties neither of good soldiers, nor of good generals. They are indeed robust members, but they languish for want of a head. Even the best soldiers, without an able leader, must despair of victory, as the strongest ship, wanting a proper pilot and rudder, must give up all hopes of reaching port. The sword with which Scanderbeg slew thousands of Turks, wielded by a feeble hand, would scarcely wound the outermost skin of the enemy.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ABIPONES IN THE LANDS BELONGING TO THE CITY OF CORRIENTES.

The city Corrientes is situated towards the East, on the shore where the rivers Parana and Paraguay are united. I have mentioned this and many other remarkable circumstances respecting the city Corrientes, in the Introductory book. The Royal Vice-Governour of the city has some colonies of Spaniards and Indians under his authority, in an extensive and fertile territory; though he can scarcely raise three hundred colonists able to bear arms; who would be quite unequal to repulsing the savages, did not their military valour compensate for the want of numbers. For many years they have had to contend with the Payaguas, who practise piracy, with the Charruas, equestrian savages, and in Chaco towards the West, with the Abipones, Mocobios, Tobas, and Guaycurùs. The Abipones, called Yaaukanigas, roam over the opposite shore, being only separated from the city by the river Parana, which, however, proves no obstacle to their access; for though it is of a

great width, they easily swim across it, in the very sight of the city. Allured by this facility, it is incredible with what frequent incursions they ravaged the territories of Corrientes. It is true, that, in former times, they had for a short time maintained peace with that city, in order that they might there exchange the spoils collected from the other Spanish colonies, for necessary articles. These being their dispositions, they were kindly received in their frequent visits by the inhabitants, and even entertained as guests by the Vice-Governour. Of the number of the Abiponian guests was the Cacique Chilome, who, for some unknown cause, went privily, in the dead of the night, to the house of the Vice-Governour; which afforded the Spaniards occasion to suspect, that the savages were meditating to surprize the city, and that they were waiting for supplies on the opposite bank of the river to aid them in executing their project. This report being spread, all the people assembled. The Cacique and his companions were slain that night, by the terrified and tumultuous throng. This murder was the occasion of much bloodshed, and the beginning of a most furious war.

The Abipones, when informed of this deed of the Spaniards, exclaimed that Chilome was unjustly slain, swore to avenge so great an

injury, and did in effect employ all their strength, anger, and cunning in punishing the inhabitants of Corrientes, having called to their assistance the Mocobios and Tobas. The citizens passed few weeks without slaughters, not a day without alarms. Stricken with the fear of death, they grew weary of a life they knew not how to preserve, the calamity growing heavier day by day, inasmuch as fewer soldiers remained, numbers being slain in daily skirmishes with the enemy. The miserable remnant, struck with consternation at the fate of their comrades, became readier to fly the savages, than to put them to flight. The whole country was filled with perturbation and slaughter. The estates and settlements near the Parana frequently suffered from the fury and rapacity of the enemy. The little town of Sta. Lucia is about fifty leagues distant from the city, and inhabited by a few unwarlike Indians; in consequence of which it was incessantly molested by the savages. An Indian messenger came from that town and informed the Vice-Governour Ceballos, that the track of the Abiponian spies had been discovered there. Ceballos, to prevent all danger of a hostile inroad, sets off for that place with a troop of horse. When arrived at the spot called *Las Lagunas*, he receives letters from the curate

of Sta. Lucia, informing him that all things are safe and tranquil at present; upon which he begins to think of returning to the city. But at this conjuncture, a Spanish horseman, who had just escaped from captivity amongst the Abipones, arrives with news that on the neighbouring shore, and almost in sight, is the populous horde of the Cacique Ychamenraikin, who had lately gone with his Abipones to plunder Cordoba; that none were left at home but the women and children, who were only guarded by a few old men; and that this numerous horde might be safely attacked, and easily taken. Ceballos thought that this opportunity of a successful enterprize was to be embraced with both hands, although many of the soldiers condemned his resolution, and even turned their backs. They said that a captive deserter was not a person to be rashly trusted; that they, who were few in number and in a hostile land, might perhaps be overwhelmed by a multitude of lurking savages; and that a victory bought at so great a risk was by no means desirable. But Ceballos, despising the murmurs of the soldiery, eagerly hastened the expedition, and ordered skiffs to be brought for passing the Parana, where it unites with the Paraguay. The fugitive acting as guide, in a few hours the vast company of

savages was discovered, and surrounded by the soldiers. The mothers were taken with their children, or cut to pieces whilst attempting flight, or struggling with the foe; there were many indeed, who eluded the Spaniards by cunning or swiftness, which was by no means difficult in those rugged roads. The booty consisted of numerous droves of horses, and various household utensils of silver, which the Abipones had formerly taken from the Spaniards. The soldiers, returning to the city with a vast crowd of captives, filled the inhabitants with joy and wonder. It is difficult to say the exact number of those who were taken, of every age and sex, but I think it amounted to several hundreds. The wife of the Cacique himself, and his little son Kieemkè, graced the triumph of the soldiers. Raachik, the grandson of the same Cacique, escaped by the way on his swift horse, through the negligence of the soldier appointed to guard him, and returned to his own country. Some of the captives were sent to the remoter towns of the Uruguay and Parana, that, being deprived of all hope of a return to their friends, they might be instructed in the Catholic faith amongst the Christian Guaranies.

The success of this expedition, though it ought to have obtained glory for its author,

Luna, till then thought inaccessible to all assailants, because it was hemmed in on every side by deep and wide marshes and ditches, and the Spaniards were forced to approach it by means of a boat. The Abiponian horsemen swam across that sea. The place contained many thousands of cattle, and a sufficient number of Negro slaves to guard them, not one of whom escaped death or captivity, unless he concealed himself from the eyes of the savages. More than twenty youths were carried away, and a great number of the older men put to death. The churches were spoiled of the sacred utensils. Four large bells were taken away, and thrown into the water to prevent their being found. An incredible multitude of horses and mules were driven off: in a word, an estate inferior to none in opulence and security was, in the space of a few hours, brought to ruin. The same fate befel almost all the other estates of the Spaniards, which being now destitute of beef, and the fruits of the earth having been consumed long ago, they began to be at a loss for provisions. The scarcity of food daily increasing, they resolved to desert their native city, and passing through the river, to change their quarters, dreading death more than exile. Whilst the savages continued to lay waste the territories of Corri-

entes, neither the soldiers nor the captains were deficient in their duty. Bold incursions were repeated against them, and many movements and attacks made here and there. Spies were sent, day and night, to observe the motions of the enemy: but what Argus could watch men whose greatest care and dexterity were exerted to prevent themselves from being seen? The Spaniards frequently attacked the savages, but with various success; they were sometimes conquered, sometimes the conquerors. Ychoalay, the leader of the Abipones, was, in some skirmish, entangled by the soldiers in a noose used for catching horses, and would have been strangled had he not quickly extricated himself. But I firmly assert, that the cause of the fruitlessness of so many expeditions undertaken against the savages originated, not in the cowardice of the Spaniards, but in their boldness and intrepidity, blinded by which they were ignorant or insensible of the dangers which threatened them, and judged vigilance and swiftness unnecessary to their safety. The circumstance I am going to relate will be a proof of this. A company of Spanish horse was placed in a situation obnoxious to the enemy, as in an observatory. Whilst they ought to have taken a complete survey of all things in the open plain, they amused them-

selves with playing cards in the shade. Meantime a troop of Abipones suddenly appears, and carries away, before their eyes, the horses of the Spaniards, no one making any opposition. If thus they eluded them whilst awake and watching, was it a matter of much difficulty to slay and plunder them whilst asleep and without suspicion?

By the provident counsels of the elder Spaniards, estates and colonies of Indians had been placed on the higher shores of the Parana; that from them the enemies might be seen coming out of Chaco, and that the other remoter settlers might, by this means, be admonished of the approaching danger. The Parana, in these places, is often broken by little islands, which, affording resting-places to the horses when they are fatigued with swimming, offer the Abipones a very convenient passage. Hence, that all sudden assaults might be prevented by the neighbourhood of the settlers dwelling on the shore, Sta. Lucia, St. Iago Sanchez, Ohoma, and Ytati, four townlets of the Indians, were formerly built on the banks of the Parana, at intervals of some leagues. The Abipones, finding that these colonies stood in the way of their clandestine journeys to the interior parts of the province, resolved upon their destruction, and their endeavours proved by no means

fruitless. The town of St. Iago Sanchez was at length ruined. Whilst the able-bodied Indians were employed in cutting bulrushes, and a crowd of women, children, and old men were listening to the preacher, the town and church were suddenly besieged by the savages, and consumed by fire. Flight was impracticable: the priest and the whole congregation were burnt to ashes. The neighbouring townlet of Ohoma was annoyed by continual inroads, till the inhabitants, fearing lest it should undergo the same fate, deserted it of their own accord, and removed to safer places. Ytati was miserably ravaged by the Payaguas, Abipones, and Mocobios, but recovered when peace was made by the enemy; and is at this day rich in cattle, though not in inhabitants. The colony of Sta. Lucia was assaulted for many years, but never completely conquered, though the number of inhabitants was incredibly thinned. As the circumference of it is very inconsiderable, it is entirely surrounded by a slender wall, to which it owes its security, as I was assured by the curate of the place. This man had made use of two precautions for the defence of himself and his fellow-citizens; he placed a high chamber on the top of his house, whence he diligently watched the enemy advancing through the flat country. He kept

continually in readiness, moreover, a very small warlike machine, by the explosion of which, he both signified to his people, who were employed without the walls, that they should betake themselves home, as danger was nigh, and at the same time deterred the savages from approaching. Arriving at the town of St. Ferdinand, I was asked by one of the Abipones, which way I had come, and on my replying that I had passed through Sta. Lucia, "Alas!" said he, "that terrible Father lives there. He makes use of a huge musket; (alluding to the engine I have described.) Our horses could never support the thundering sound it emits, whilst we have laboured to approach it." Had he been candid, he would have added, that not the horses only, but also their riders, were often put to flight by the noise of that machine.

Whilst this little town of Sta. Lucia remained in security, the other towns and estates of the Spaniards were utterly ruined, being either sacked by the enemy, or deserted by the Spaniards through fear of the enemy. Therefore, whilst the country near the shore was entirely divested of the dwellings of the Christians, the Abipones crossed the Parana at their pleasure, and traversed the land, more like fixed inhabitants, than occasional visitors. The Spanish scouts sent from the city were generally eluded

by the savages, and frequently slain by them. But a troop of Spanish horse had remained for the defence of the estates situated near the rivers Sombrero, Sombrerillo, Peguahò, and Riachuelo, and of those nearer the city; they also served to guard the oxen brought from those estates to support the city. Wherever you set your foot in the surrounding fields, you may behold monuments of the cruelty of the savages;—here the remains of dilapidated buildings;—there, numerous crosses planted in the ground. If you enquire what those crosses mean, you will hear that thirty, forty or more bodies of miserable wretches, who were slain by the savages, were formerly buried there. They will show you, in another place, a field sadly noted by the blood and dead bodies of the Spaniards, who were slain in an unfortunate engagement with the savages.

Another misery was added to the calamities of the city, namely, the want of wood. The eastern shore of the Parana, which the city occupies, is not entirely deficient in trees, which afford wood for fuel, but none grow there supplying useful materials for building houses, ships, or waggons. The western shore, however, abounds in such trees; but this being the land of the Yaaukanigar Abipones, no Spaniard can approach it without endangering his

life. During the heat of the war, Father Joseph Gaete, of our College, who at that time managed the domestic affairs of the city, saw there was immediate occasion for a very long and firm plank, to prop a house which was almost ready to fall. To procure this with safety, he filled a ship fit to cross the river, with slaves, gave them a guard of soldiers, and accompanied them himself. But scarce had the trunk received a few blows from the axe, when the shouts of the Abipones were heard. The Negroes and soldiers, awaiting neither the arrival of the enemy, nor the Father's orders, left their tools, clothes, and food, flew to the ship, and entirely forgetting the plank which had been the object of their search, made for the opposite bank as fast as possible, flying "the cruel coasts and greedy shore"; their safe escape from which was reckoned amongst the blessings of their lives. From these accounts you may guess in what a condition the affairs of Corrientes then were. Upon the inhabitants of this city did the Abipones pour forth their most unrelenting persecutions, because they were the nearest and most hateful to them. Separated from the Corrientines by the river Parana alone, they easily reiterated their incursions, attracted to plunder by the short distance, and stimulated to revenge by

the ever fresh remembrance of the injuries they professed themselves to have received. The peace concluded with the Abipones in the year 1747, and the colonies founded for them, at length put an end to these long calamities. By these means, also, the savages in Chaco were appeased, or at least restrained, so that the Corrientines, after weathering this furious storm, began at last to recover from their sufferings.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE EXCURSIONS OF THE ABIPONES AGAINST THE COLONIES OF ST. IAGO DEL ESTERO.

Long after the other colonies throughout Paraguay had been struggling with the enemy, the country of St. Iago continued free from molestation and totally unacquainted with the Abipones, and their powers; for these savages had at that time discovered no way of approaching them; but at last the inhabitants themselves were their instructors. They were in the habit of going in troops out of their own country to the river Parana, for the purpose of hunting the numerous stags which frequent its banks. These hunters sometimes held familiar intercourse with the Abipones, and sometimes, abusing their friendship, carried away their horses. The savages, provoked by these injuries, pursued their footsteps when they departed, and in this way first began to obtain a knowledge of the province of St. Iago, and afterwards to disturb it with arms.

I have found all the Spaniards throughout Paraguay to be active, intrepid, endowed with a handsome form, great strength, and a noble

disposition, agile in swimming, and remarkable for skill in horsemanship; but I fearlessly assert that the St. Iagans are better qualified than any of the rest to pursue the savages. Both themselves and their horses are extremely patient of labour, travelling, and inconveniences of every kind, and are satisfied with that food which is most easily procured. On sudden expeditions against the savages they make a composition of maize flour, preserved with honey or sugar: this, mixed with water, is all their provisions, as it allays both hunger and thirst; and in travelling with them I did not find it unpleasant, especially when the weather was particularly hot, as it possesses an excellent property of cooling the body, and quenching the thirst. The soldiers use it to save time and labour, for neither wood nor fire are required to cook this flour. When they dismount from their horses to cross a lake or river, each man draws water for himself in a little horn cup suspended by a string, and drinks it mixed with this flour, which saves time, and enables them more conveniently to pursue the savages. The Spaniards of Cordoba, Buenos-Ayres, and Sta. Fè, when they took a journey on account of the Indians, used to drive before them whole droves of horses and oxen. Whilst a soldier of St. Iago, with but one horse, makes a jour-

ney of many days and even weeks, the former change their horses frequently in one day, and consume a great deal of time in catching and harnessing them. That fresh meat may be always in readiness, they kill oxen every day, so that much of their time is spent in cutting the flesh, roasting and eating it, and in seeking fuel for the fire to cook it with. It is no wonder therefore that the slowly pursuing Spaniards are almost always eluded by the savages who prosecute their flight without interruption, and that the soldiers of St. Iago are dreaded on account of their swiftness. Moreover the fires which the other Spaniards kindle on the way are to be condemned, because the smoke often betrays them to the Indians. When their flour is consumed, the soldiers of St. Iago support themselves by the wild animals which they hunt on the way. Few of them are furnished with muskets; their chief arms are spears, which, though not of the best quality, are more formidable to the savages than the fire-arms of others.

Another of their excellencies is a wonderful sagacity in exploring. None are quicker than they at discovering the hidden retreats of the savages, at finding any fugitive, whether it be man or beast, or at bringing back any thing stolen. This quickness at exploring enabled

them not only to discover the savages, but to intimidate and overcome them in time of war; for to discover the enemy, either whilst they are concealed in their secret retreats, or contemplating a surprize, is a great part of victory in America. This I learnt for certain, that the horsemen of St. Iago, on account of their swiftness, and singular skill in exploring, were more dreaded by the Abipones, and seldomer and more cautiously attacked than the other Spaniards. St. Iago itself, from being surrounded by lesser colonies, never suffered either danger or molestation from the savages. The whole neighbourhood enjoyed the same exemption; for a row of surrounding dwelling-houses, like little fortifications, forbade all access to the savages, or at least rendered it very dangerous. The storm of the war seems, for many years, to have fallen on the territories that are washed by the river Salado, and on those near Cordoba. The passage from Chaco to these places is easy, and the outskirts of provinces are everywhere more liable to the incursions of hostile nations. The Abipones frequently overran these territories for the sake of plunder. Many were slain in the fields and houses, some taken captive, and others robbed of their goods and cattle. How great were the sufferings of Moppa and Salabina, old townlets of the Indians, and the

neighbouring places! In Manumo many were killed on the same day. All the men being slain, a Mulatta woman snatched up a sword, and slew an Abipon, but she was soon killed herself by the rest. The journey from Sta. Fè to St. Iago was, at that time, most perilous. The ways were strewed with the dead bodies of the Spaniards. Miguel de Luna, who, though more remarkable for greatness of body than of mind, had been promoted to the rank of camp-master, was returning from the estates of Sta. Fè, accompanied by a great number of horses and oxen, which he had purchased. Whilst reclining at noon, under the shade of a tree, he was surprized by a company of Abipones and Mocobios. Of his companions some were employed in catching the horses which had been let loose to pasture, others in killing oxen. Some of the Spaniards were pierced by the spears of the Abipones in the first attack: the rest were saved by means of their horses' hoofs, leaving the cattle and baggage in the hands of the enemy. Tinko, a man famous for his knowledge of ways and tracks, caught hold of his master Miguel with both hands, and placing him like a bundle on the crupper of his horse, galloped away so quickly that Miguel had no time to seat himself in a proper position. The servant and his master were pursued

in their flight by a party of savages, who kept endeavouring to wound them with spears, but none durst approach for fear of the musket which hung suspended from Miguel's back, though this musket was in such a condition that the enemy had little occasion to fear it, nor could its owner expect it to yield a single spark of fire. Many years after, I saw this noble pair of fugitives, as well as that famous instrument of defence, at which I laughed heartily, for it was hardly worthy of the name of musket.

The same road which had been the scene of these events became always liable to the incursions of the savages, and proved fatal to many who journeyed there. Alarcon, Las Tres Cruzes, La Viuda, Las Sepulturas, Don Gil, Doña Lorenza, and other places near the river Salado, are wont to inspire terror by recalling the memory of the numerous slaughters perpetrated there. Throughout these extensive tracts of land, estates once flourished opulent in cattle, which being laid waste by the savages, a mournful solitude, opportune for plunderers, had succeeded. Hence the road hanging over the river Salado was deserted by the St. Iagans, who, for the sake of security, thought proper to frequent another, named *El camino de los porongos*. But whilst they avoided Charybdis

they fell upon Scylla, for there the Abipones wandered in troops, bearing destruction to all they met. One Barassa, and three companions, as they were conveying merchandise on mules from the city of Sta. Fè, were cruelly murdered in the field called *Las monigotes*, whilst I was in Paraguay.

The slaughter of the Spaniards of St. Iago in the woods named Hierro, was much more desperate. To give you some idea of the extent of it, a little prefacing is necessary. To seek honey and wax in the woods, to purify and prepare it, and to sell it to others, is the principal and peculiar trade of the inhabitants of St. Iago. Slaves are sent for that purpose by the more opulent, with a director, to the remotest woods, where natural bee-hives are found in hollow trees. Cottages are built for the labourers of boughs and straw, where there is a field close by, and a good opportunity of getting water. They always keep a number of horses and mules; the former for the purpose of travelling and hunting, the latter for that of carrying burdens of provisions, wax, and honey. They are all extremely solicitous to have in readiness very swift horses, with which they daily sally forth to hunt wild animals, the flesh of which they use for food, and the skins for bags to hold the honey. Whilst the rest wander through the wood, their director

boils the wax collected the day before, and prepares food for his companions on their return. There is one place particularly abundant in honey; it is a hundred leagues from St. Iago, and is named Hierro.

This circumstance was well known to Oaherkaikin, the crafty leader of the Abipones, and thither he came to commit depredations with a faithful troop of followers, nor was he disappointed in his hopes; for he found a vast number of Spaniards in that place seeking honey. The most distinguished of these was Lisondo, than whom, the Commander-in-chief, Barreda, declared, he had not a braver nor more active soldier. One of the slaves, who had gone to a neighbouring ditch to draw water, spied an Abiponian horseman leaning upon his spear, and having his face painted with dark colours; upon which he called out *Amigo*, friend. This salutation being sternly rejected by the savage, the slave, greatly alarmed, told what he had seen to Lisondo, who, always intrepid, said he saw no immediate occasion for fear. Soon after, the bands of Abipones sprung forth from the various parts of the wood where they had concealed themselves, and slaying all they met, rushed into the cottage of Lisondo, who, armed with his axe and his presence of mind alone, broke the spears of four of the

assailants, but at last fell oppressed by numbers. He expired wounded in many places, having been first dragged out of doors by strong straps of leather, with which his hands and feet were bound. Lisondo being slain, the few who escaped the eyes and hands of the savages, saved their lives by flight. Three or four leapt on to the same horse, and beginning their journey without any provisions, the fugitives were threatened with fresh dangers of death. They had to travel at least fifty leagues, in a vast solitude, before they could reach the dwellings of men. Hence, wasted with hunger, thirst, and apprehension, they at length reached home, many of them on foot, and though they had escaped death, looked more dead than alive. Meanwhile, in the scene of so much bloodshed, a vast quantity of wax and honey, a number of excellent horses and mules, the large brazen caldrons for refining the wax, the axes and various other iron implements, and the wearing apparel, became the prey of the savages; whilst the owners at St. Iago bitterly deplored the deaths of the men, and the loss of their property. The Abipones who committed this slaughter were those who, till then, had refused to enter the colonies founded for their nation; but they soon after took refuge in them to avoid the vengeance of the Spaniards.

The Abipones raged with still more violence and pertinacity against those colonies which look towards the south, and are near the territories of Cordoba. Zumampa, Las Barrancas, and El Oratorio, for a long time witnessed the cruelty of the savages. A whole village was destroyed, while some of the inhabitants were slain, and others made captive, scarce one or two surviving. This country is intersected by a high road, through which waggons loaden with Peruvian money frequently pass to Buenos-Ayres. The certainty of booty and great facility of committing depredations had attracted the Abipones to these parts of the province, to the great annoyance of merchants, who were thus necessitated either to lose their merchandise, or to bring soldiers at a great expense to defend the waggons and their drivers, who often lost their lives as they were endeavouring to defend the lives and properties of others.

These and many other things of this kind were committed by the Abipones against the inhabitants of St. Iago, who knew not that they had to deal with a people accustomed to leave nothing unrevenged. They frequently eluded the attempts of the enemy by vigilance, oftener warded them off by dint of brave exertions. They often returned slaughter for slaughter,

wounds for wounds. They had made such frequent inroads into Chaco, and so many successful invasions of the hordes of the savages, that the soldiers were scarce sufficient to guard the captives. I cannot commend the soldiers of St. Iago without launching out into the praise of their general, Barreda. Excuse me if I make some tribute to my love for this man, and appear somewhat prolix in what respects him but fear nothing in regard to veracity. Barreda is indeed my friend, but truth still more so.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE EXPEDITIONS OF FRANCISCO BARREDA, GENERAL OF THE ST. IAGANS, AGAINST THE ABIPONES AND MOCOBIOS.

Astigi, a city of Andalusia, was his native place. He was born of a most respectable family, and had been in the King's service from his earliest years. He set sail from Cadiz for Paraguay, while yet a youth, bearing letters from the King, in the office of naval secretary. This voyage is often performed in three or four months, with a favourable wind; Barreda and his companions, miserably tost about the ocean, scarce reached the port of Buenos-Ayres on the tenth. Having dispatched their business in that city, all things were put in readiness for returning to Europe, and they entered the vessel. But just as they were going to raise anchor, a furious south wind encountered the ship, turned it on its beam-ends, and would have sunk it, had it not been held by steady anchors. The crew remained the whole night on a sand bank, expecting death every moment. The shades of night increased their fears and their danger.

All must have perished, had not a boat arrived, at day-break, from the shore, which is three miles distant from the place where the ships lie at anchor. Barreda conceived such a horror of navigation, that, when his companions returned to Spain, he remained in Paraguay, reserved by the Almighty to repress the boldness of the savages, by whom he was more dreaded in his age, than the sea had been by him in his youth. He was removed from Buenos-Ayres to Salabina, a little town in the country of St. Iago, where his skill in writing rendered him very useful. He volunteered to accompany the soldiers in an incursion against the savages, and after having, in repeated campaigns, given signal proofs of wisdom and valour, was promoted first to command a troop of horse, afterwards to lead them against the savages, and lastly to be chief ruler, in the Governour's name, over the whole territory of the river Salado; in which station, he commended himself to the Royal Governour of Tucuman, by his many brave and noble actions, the chief of which was his prevailing upon the Vilelas to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. By means of his industrious efforts, ten thousand Vilelas quitted their lurking-holes in the woods, entered the new colonies, and received baptism. The small-pox, which broke out soon afterwards,

cut off greatest part of them, and the survivors settled first in the land of Cordoba, and afterwards in the territory of St. Iago, where, as they daily decreased more and more under other masters, they were committed to the care of the priests of our order.

Barreda pursued the Abipones and Mocobios, who continued hostile, with the rigour of arms, as he had conciliated the peaceful Vilelas by gentle measures. If he did not entirely repress their boldness, he certainly restrained and punished it with frequent discomfitures. The Royal Governour, desirous of rewarding his merit, conferred on him the supreme administration in his name, of all affairs, civil and military, in all the colonies of St. Iago. How well he answered to the good opinion entertained of him, you may discover from the circumstance, that he held this office for thirty years, and never laid it down till his death, equally beloved by all good men, and dreaded by the savages. Many declared that they saw nothing to object to in him but his goodness, which almost appeared carried to an excess. In the punishment of criminals, he showed himself more lenient, than hasty or severe; for he used to say he would rather suffer ten guilty men to escape unpunished, than punish one innocent man. Whenever he pronounced sentence, as a

judge, he endeavoured to favour the Indian rather than the Spaniard, usually saying: *Hé de attender a la parte mas flaca:* I must defend the weaker side. He had a very gentle disposition, by which he conciliated all hearts; his person was handsome, and his body large and vigorous, so that it was easy to infer how great a soul inhabited it. In uprightness of conduct, in purity of mind, and in sincere piety, he excelled, or at any rate equalled all the civil and military commanders of his time. His love and reverence for the priesthood were very great. In the presence of hundreds of soldiers, and of my Abipones, he disdained not to honour my hand with a pious kiss; and to assist me as I was performing the sacred rites. He devoted himself entirely to promoting the advantage of the province committed to his care, so that he had no time to think of heaping up riches, which is commonly thought the chief business of Europeans in America. But though not very opulent, he was exceedingly liberal. In short, by the splendor of his virtues, and by his famous achievements against the savages, he obtained an immortal reputation, but at the same time excited the envy of cowards and sluggards; a fate which attends all eminent men, and is their constant inheritance. Noble actions however clearly refute the accusations of the envious. Barreda not only

attended thirty expeditions against the Abipones and Mocobios, but headed them all himself except three. The number of his victories, such victories as are gained in America, was the same as that of his expeditions. You would have thought that fortune waited on his footsteps. But he used to impute his success not to fortune, but to the favour of the Almighty, and to the activity and sagacity of his soldiers; as if he himself had contributed little or nothing to the prosperous event of the war. Yet it is allowed on all hands that the success of these expeditions was chiefly owing to the prudence, industry, and caution of Barreda. But he was not one of those generals, who, to speak in the words of Livy, enter a contest, relying more on their courage, than on their strength. The desire of fame or booty never induced him to hazard an attack, unless he thought the hope of victory greater than the likelihood of the most trifling slaughter. In order to judge of this he carefully marked the situation of places, the numbers of his adversaries, and the opportunities of the journey and of the road. A band of scouts was daily sent forward, to discover the ambuscades of the enemy, to examine their dwellings and their numbers, or to surprize them unawares. Barreda detested any slaughter of the savages, if attended by that of his own

soldiers. "Where I am present," he said, "every thing goes on well. But if," added he, "I were utterly to destroy all the savages in Chaco, at the expense of two soldiers only, verily, on my return to the city, I should expect to be saluted with mud and stones. The people are extremely desirous of the deaths of the savages, but expect their own soldiers to be immortal in every battle." As it had been clearly proved that Barreda was by no means rash in undertaking expeditions, the people of St. Iago with willing minds followed whithersoever he led, and under no leader did these excellent soldiers make more daring achievements.

I have already mentioned that the people of St. Iago possessed a singular skill at exploring, but that Landriel excelled in this respect is doubted by no one. Barreda made use of him for many years as the chief instrument of his victories; and by this penetrating discoverer of the savages he was accompanied wherever he went. Other Spaniards, too, out of the territories of St. Iago, took him for their guide whenever the savages were to be attacked or repelled. I will give you an account of a victory which Barreda gained chiefly by means of this man. As Landriel was on his way home from the woods, where he had been employed

in collecting wax and honey, he fell in with Barreda, who had just set off on an expedition against the Abipones, with many hundred horse. "Tarry here awhile," said Landriel to him. "Let me carry home the mules loaden with wax and honey, and to-morrow I will return provided with proper horses, and conduct you straight forward to the dwellings of the Abipones. I saw them myself very lately, and was compelled by hunger to slay some of their oxen." Landriel was joyfully beheld by them all as a propitious star, and not listened to without inspiring confidence of victory. He stood to his promise, and returning the next day, was the life of the party, and the eye and right hand of Barreda. In a few days, as he knew the Abiponian horde to be at no great distance, he stations the forces which were proceeding into Chaco, in a secure place, whilst he himself, with another soldier, goes to discover whether the Abipones continued in the same place where he had first seen them. In the evening, leaving his horse to the care of his companion, he hastens alone and on foot to the place where he had lately espied the dwellings of the savages, but finds that they had changed their quarters. He knew that close by was a lake; affording great convenience for a savage horde. Thither he steals, and perceives from

the number of fires that the Abipones, whom he sought, had settled there. Returning to the place where he had left his horse in the care of his companion, he finds that both were departed; for the soldier, imagining that Landriel must have been intercepted by the savages, from his staying so many hours, had consulted his own safety by flight. Barreda, and all the other soldiers, after vainly expecting Landriel's return for so long a time, began to entertain the same suspicions. They were not aware that Landriel had to return on foot, the same distance which he had gone on horseback. But when at length he returned safe, Barreda resumed his courage, and all the rest their hope of victory, especially when they understood that the retreat of the savages had been discovered.

The journey was now begun, forthwith, under Landriel's guidance; and when after many hours they had crossed a plain which was flooded to such a degree as to bear the appearance of a lake, the dwellings of the Abipones were seen, and instantly attacked. The very few men in the place could not stand the assault of the Spaniards, but preferred flight to combat. The Cacique who governed that horde, with most of the efficient men, were then absent: doubtless, had they been at home, the attack would not

have proved entirely bloodless. Some of the Indians, however, who were slower in their flight, were slain, and a train of women and children taken captive. Various silver utensils, the fruit of much plunder, many hundreds of horses, and numerous oxen, were the booty of the Spaniards. The day being nearly ended, the Spaniards passed the night in the same place; not sleeping, but watching, and all the captives, many hundreds in number, were guarded in the fold where the horses had formerly been kept.

Amongst the captives were some Spanish women, who had been formerly taken in war by the Abipones; one of these persuaded the soldiers to return by a different, and more convenient way than that by which they had come, and this proposal was eagerly embraced by the soldiers, whose clothes were still wet with the water of their yesterday's journey. Meantime the report of the incursion of the Spaniards provoked to the desire of vengeance all the Abipones who dwelt in the vicinity. Exasperated by the captivity of their wives and children, they fell upon the last company of the St. Iagans, but met with a brave repulse. Some of the soldiers, however, forgetful of the danger, were nearly slain by the savages, whilst at a distance from their companions. One of

them falling from his horse into a marshy place, would soon have been pierced with spears, had not Captain Gorosito succoured him by the intervention of a musket. The Indians, perceiving that their skirmishes had produced no effect, withdrew to their places of concealment, leaving the Spaniards to pursue their journey, without further molestation. Alaykin, ill enduring the loss of so many people and horses, began to think of establishing a peace with the inhabitants of St. Iago, and of requesting a colony for himself; both of which he obtained, by the intercession of Barreda. Numbers were slain, and about two hundred taken prisoners, in another excursion undertaken by Barreda against the Mocobios, most of whom, terrified by so much slaughter, took refuge in the town of St. Xavier, which had been founded in the territories of Sta. Fè, for the Caciques Aletin and Chitalin, and at that time contained about twenty families, but was wonderfully increased by the accession of those whom Barreda frightened into entering it, or freed from captivity and sent thither. I pass by many other expeditions of this kind which Barreda successfully conducted against the savages; some of them, however, I shall touch upon in treating of the affairs of Cordoba. Barreda always maintained that his assaults on

the savages would have caused less effusion of blood, had his soldiers, though excellent in every other respect, paid more obedience to his orders. You shall now hear the complaints he made against them.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF CERTAIN DEFECTS IN THE SOLDIERS OF ST. IAGO. OF THEIR COMPANIES, AND OF THE DEGREES OF MILITARY RANK AMONGST THEM.

THE soldiers of St. Iago were accused of three defects by their old general, Barreda. The first is, that in an assault, they neglect to surround the dwellings of the savages on every side, and thus give them an opportunity of escaping. They make the first attack in front, leaving a way to the wood, whither the enemy may take shelter. Experience has taught them that the Abipones and Mocobios fight desperately when straitened. They knew well that the province would be more disturbed by the deaths of two soldiers, than rejoiced at the slaughter of two hundred savages. Induced by these considerations, the soldiers of St. Iago, slighting the orders of their commander, attack the enemy on that part which they think least dangerous to themselves. Another subject of complaint to Barreda, was, that, though he commanded them to make the attack in silence, they still would rush on with shouts and senseless clamour. The third ob-

jection was, their greediness for booty. When an unarmed multitude of women and children were taken, whilst the men escaped, the soldiers, scattered up and down the plain, were eagerly seeking droves of horses, when they ought to have been employed in pursuing and slaughtering the fugitives, and in watching diligently, lest the savages should shake off dread, quit their lurking-holes, and again exhibit their faces in the field. Barreda himself, in an expedition against the Mocobios, ran great risk of losing his life; for as he remained in the plundered camp, with but one companion, the rest being employed in catching the enemy's horses in the plain, a Mocobio suddenly started up from under a mat, and before taking to flight, shot an arrow at his breast, which would have proved mortal, had he not been protected by his woollen garment: the man was immediately pierced with a musket ball. Who would not laugh at the paltry plunder of the enemy's camp? They search every corner, and collect jugs, pots, gourds, shells, skins of beasts, emus' feathers, in short whatever they can find, leaving nothing behind but the dust. With much care and trouble they carry home all sorts of trash, to be exhibited as trophies to their neighbours and to posterity.

Not one soldier receives any pay, through-

out the whole district of St. Iago. The colonists are all divided into companies, some of which consist of two hundred men, more or less. Each has its captain, lieutenant, ensign, (though that is a mere title, for they have no ensigns,) and corporals. It is the captain's duty to call out the soldiers to an excursion. The lieutenant's business is to guard the horses, both by day, when they are driven all together along the road, without riders, and by night, when they are grazing in the open plain. Many take long journeys on one horse, but the more opulent carry four, or even ten, and ride them by turns. The ensigns act in the place of the lieutenant, when he is absent, or resting. In each of the territories of the province, there is a master of the watch, called *Sargento Mayor*, who has the chief command both over the captains and their companies, and orders which are to go to war. This officer, sometimes from partiality, sometimes from being corrupted by bribes, suffers the richer people to remain at home, and forces the poorer, and generally the least able, to attend the militia. All condemn, but none dare to correct this abominable custom, the pernicious effects of which extend to the whole province. Barreda permitted nobody to be appointed for an expedition, who did not possess

at least four horses, and who had neither brothers nor grown-up sons at home, to manage his domestic affairs in his absence. During my stay there, the whole province of St. Iago contained eleven companies, which took their names from their captains. Beside these, there is a company of scouts, called *Batidores del campo*, containing fewer than the others, but those few of tried sagacity and courage. The chief and the champion of this company was Landriel, who, as a remuneration for his well-known merits, was declared camp-master by the Governour of Tucuman. But I should have been better pleased to have heard of his having been enriched with money, or a pension, than adorned with an empty title. According to report, his father was not of low birth, but his mother must have been an Indian, to judge from his features, speech, and complexion. He was born in a village of St. Iago. Reading and writing were the extent of his attainments. He was courteous and upright in his manners, endowed with a quick understanding, with singular prudence and piety, and robust, though middle-sized in stature. He always led a single life, to the best of my remembrance. I visited him on my return from the city, when he dwelt with his mother, in a miserable hut, not far from Soconcho, on the banks of the river Dulce,

and was grieved to witness the poverty of so famous a man. The Governour granted him the field Alarcòn, which extends many leagues, and is rich in woods, but being surrounded with a vast desert, and consequently liable to the incursions of the savages, cannot be cultivated with safety.

The last, and chief company, consists of the captains who have served out their time, and are called *Capitanes Reformados*. These attend the Vice-Governour, the Commander-in-chief in excursions, but are exempt from the other journeys and burdens of the war. To obtain this immunity, those who are more gifted with wealth than courage purchase the title of a reformed captain, though they never discharged the office either of captain or lieutenant. You can hardly imagine how ardently all the Americans, both Indians and Spaniards, sue for military dignities, and how much they are delighted with these honourable titles. Do they faint with hunger, thirst and wretchedness?—salute them with the title of captain, or master of the watch, and they will revive,—*in cælum, jusseris, ibunt*. There was an old Spaniard who knew how to make waggons, gates, and mill-wheels, and was, on this account, styled a mathematician by the ignorant vulgar, who doubtless accounted him superior to Archi-

modes. Barreda was in want of this man's assistance in constructing the gates and window-beams in the new colony of Concepcion; but being well aware that the old workman would never be persuaded to go to the country of the Abipones, being more attached to his own house than a tortoise to its shell, he made use of an honest stratagem to obtain his purpose, and immediately declared him a reformed captain. In a few days, Barreda gives out his intention of taking a journey to the colony. According to custom, two companies and all the reformed captains were called out, amongst whom, this most noble artificer, as he had lately been elected one of their number, could not refuse to go. Barreda jocosely told me the whole story, in the new town of Concepcion, and charged me always to salute the said workman with the high-sounding title of Captain, saying it would be an excellent method of stimulating him to exertion. I took the hint, and whenever I had occasion to visit the workshop, interspersed every sentence with *Señor Capitan.* "Very true," said he; "by the grace of God I am a captain; that can't be denied. But what of that?" And then he complained to me, that many did not know that this was the case. I immediately employed all my rhetorical powers in extolling the per-

fections of a reformed captain in general, and his own exceeding merit in particular; and in this panegyric I took care that every sentence should begin and end with, *Señor Capitan.* At my request, this mode of speech was adopted by Barreda and all the rest, which artifice succeeded so well, that the good old man made the gates, doors, and other necessaries, with all possible dispatch, though not in the most skilful manner: such was the potency of the unprofitable title of captain amongst them, which I have seen confirmed by another event of the same kind, that took place in the town of Concepcion.

Barreda ordered the soldiers to hedge round a very large field, to plough, and sow it with maize, melons, cotton, &c. and he himself laboured with his own hands, that the Abipones might not be ashamed of the plough. At the end of four days, being obliged to return to the city, he gave it in charge to one of the common soldiers, to get it properly ploughed and sowed during his absence, promising him, by way of reward, the title of reformed captain. Lured by so sweet a bait, the soldier exceeded Barreda's expectation, and almost went beyond himself. From the rising to the setting of the sun, he made the oxen fly with the plough, and himself and his companions overflow with sweat, caused by toiling under a burning sun;

careless of the heat, of food and sleep, he laboured with such ardour, that his task was finished sooner than could have been imagined. Barreda, on his departure, by sound of drum, proclaimed this strenuous ploughman a reformed captain, to the surrounding troop of horse. But you will laugh to hear how transitory is human greatness. In less than three days, this new captain lost his dignity, and the favour of him who conferred it. It is worth while to relate the cause of his disgrace, which will discover a shameful custom of the soldiers of St. Iago. When absent, they are possessed with an incredible desire of home. Those who are sent to the colonies of the Abipones pursue their journey thither very tardily, but return with amazing quickness. They fatigue their horses with hurrying day and night, as, though they may have no wounds to show, they wish to present themselves at home, alive and safe, as soon as possible. From this extreme desire of revisiting their friends, it often happens that the soldiers, whilst striving with each other in haste, desert their leader. Barreda, in the journey I mentioned, was offended to find so very few soldiers remaining in his company, and particularly at the absence of him whom he had named captain but a few days before. He sent a man forward to signify to

him that he was degraded from his rank. Grieved and surprized at this intelligence, he condemned his own haste, and almost wept for the loss of his title. Landriel became his counsellor, and advised him to fill the horns, which they used for jugs, with fresh water, to carry them to Barreda, and say that he had hastened to fetch cold water from the river Turugon, as none was to be got within many leagues. Barreda, parching with thirst, was so pleased with this civility, that, not perceiving the deceit, he restored to the good man the title of captain. I relate these unimportant circumstances to show you what a value the Spaniards set upon military titles. Hence, whenever you meet a Spaniard or half Spaniard in the country, if you wish to avoid giving offence, be sure not to accost him by his name or surname alone, but always add his title, if he have any. If he be of the very lowest condition, call him *Señor Cabo de esquadra*, or *Señor Sargento*. If you observe wrinkles in his forehead, grey hairs on his head, and shoes or boots on his feet, though his clothes be ever so shabby, you may have no hesitation in calling him captain: but if he have silver clasps to his bridle, brazen stirrups, (we generally use wooden ones,) spurs of silver, and a staff in his hand, be assured that he holds the title of *Sargento Mayor*, or

Maestre de Campo. In a noble city of Tucuman, where I resided for some time, all the richer sort of people are called camp-masters, and in fact they are so; for a knowledge of agriculture and the breeding of cattle is the sole means of maintenance and nobility to the inhabitants of that place. You would be thought a savage and fit to be hunted out of society, unless you made abundant use of these honourable appellations, which they seek with such ardor. A man of our order happened, on a journey, to fall in with a Spaniard in a place where four roads met, and, whilst considering which way he should take, repeatedly addressed his companion with the title of captain: till the man, thinking himself insulted, said, with a threatening look, "Good Father, how long will you continue to make me angry? You must either be a stranger, or very ignorant, since you don't know that I am a *Sargento Mayor:*" so much displeasure do they evince if their ears are not gratified with their proper appellations. But they are not ashamed to be saluted with titles which do not really belong to them. I saw Barreda writing letters to the Governour of Tucuman, in which he honoured him with the title of colonel, though he was only lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of infantry. I reminded Barreda of this

circumstance, thinking it must have slipped his memory. But he replied that he had written it purposely, not through forgetfulness: that I was unacquainted with the customs of America, where it is necessary to politeness, to add one degree, at least, to a title of dignity.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE ATROCITIES OF THE ABIPONES TOWARDS THE PEOPLE OF CORDOBA.

Cordoba, the principal city of Tucuman, a Bishop's see, contains an academy which was a few years back as famous as any in South America, and is extolled for its splendid edifices, and its opulent and honourable citizens. The ruler of Cordoba is not styled a Vice-Governor, but a Viceroy. The situation of the city, which is washed by the little river Pucarà, and surrounded by hills, is neither very pleasant, nor very healthy. The country on the side of Sta. Fè, and Buenos-Ayres, is a plain more than a hundred leagues in extent, of most fertile pasture-ground; but the part looking towards the kingdom of Chili, and the territories of St. Iago, is irregular, sometimes sinking into low vallies, sometimes rising into irriguous hills; where feed an infinite multitude of cattle, horses, mules, and sheep, in which the principal and almost only riches of the Cordobans consist. This part of Tucuman, except the city, enjoys a healthy temperature, and a cool breeze arising from the vicinity of the mountains of

Chili; the population is numerous, and the inhabitants frank, robust, and intelligent, but deserving of a better fortune in war. Larger woods of quince, pomegranate, orange and peach trees are no where to be seen: there are also figs, nuts, and other fruits peculiar to America.

The land of Cordoba might be esteemed fortunate, had the inhabitants ever been allowed to rest from the incursions of the Pampas, Abipones, and Mocobios. If, as I have related, the rest of Paraguay was often disturbed by the inroads of the Abipones, the Cordobans were so tormented by their perpetual hostilities, that neither place nor season was free from fear and anxiety. Not only the remote and solitary estates, but even the immediate vicinity of the city was so confidently attacked by the Abipones, you would have thought that women only dwelt there, or that all the inhabitants were asleep. This extensive province always possessed sufficient numbers, and sufficient strength to repel the Abipones; the only things needed were courage and proper leaders, who by their example might animate the people to the defence of their country, direct the forces it contained to some advantage, and make use of the strength that really existed: for certainly

in no part of Paraguay were there to be found more expeditious horses and horsemen than here; not to mention the agility, and skill which the latter possessed in other respects, their height, singular strength, activity, and abundance of armour: for their superior opulence enables them, more easily than the other Spaniards, to obtain the necessary instruments of war. Oh! that the people of Cordoba would learn to know themselves, and their own strength! that they would shake off their innate dread of the savages, whom they could easily vanquish, would they but summon up courage to make the attempt! The Abipones, conscious that they were dreaded by the Cordobans, insolently reiterated their assaults, and generally with impunity. The high-way leading to Peru, and to the cities of Buenos-Ayres and Sta. Fè, was seldom free from carnage and robberies, never from danger: insomuch that travellers always either suffered or apprehended murder from the savages. There was no such thing as security. Neither the summits of the highest hills, nor the deepest recesses of the forests afforded any defence. The Abipones examined all places, like hounds, and seldom returned empty-handed. On St Joseph's day, before dawn, a vast troop of Abipones, under their leader Alaykin, burst into the estate of Sinsa-

cate, which is about ten leagues distant from the city. This place was then administered by the secular priest Carranza. A great number of people, who had assembled the day before from the neighbouring estates, intending to be present at divine service in the church of Jesus and Mary, were there at that time. The savages either slew, or carried into captivity all they saw. The number of captives, Spaniards and Indians, was five and twenty: many more were slain, and the rest saved themselves by flight; every thing was plundered, and the mules and horses which filled the neighbouring fields, driven away. The estate was saved by the lofty walls of the church Jesus Maria, though it suffered a great loss of cattle. The soldiers of Cordoba, moved by the dreadful report, at last arrived from the city, that, though unable to restore life to the dead, they might at least procure the liberty of the crowd of captives. They pursued the fugitive Abipones for some time, till their further progress was stopped by a vast lake, which, though crossed by the Indians without hesitation, seemed to the Cordobans an ocean impassable on horseback, and requiring the assistance of a boat; so that they were obliged to retire out of sight of the enemy. The people of Cordoba, notwithstanding that they excel in point of horsemanship, are little

qualified to pursue the savages, from their inability to swim; the cause of this deficiency is that most of them live in a place where swimming is not customary, or where there is no opportunity for practising it. There is a place, between Cordoba and St. Iago, called Rio Seco. Scattered here and there in little vallies between the hills are great numbers of well-peopled estates, and cattle of every description. In this place is a large, elegant stone church, which owes its celebrity to an image of the Virgin Mary, and whither numbers flock from all parts, as it has been distinguished by the favour of Heaven and the gifts of the pious. The Abipones had informed themselves of this circumstance from their Spanish captives. The opulence of the place afforded them great hopes of a rich booty. Having diligently examined every thing through their spies, they resolved to occupy the narrow straits of the rocks, and block up all the ways, to deprive the Spaniards of the means of flight. They either slew, or made captive, all they found in the neighbouring fields, and in the houses, without opposition: the whole country was devastated. An immense number of horses and mules were taken by the savages. The church itself was forced, while affording shelter to those who survived the massacre, and had fled thither for refuge.

They broke open the door with an axe, though it was secured with bolts and plates of iron. These sacrilegious thieves carried away the sacred silver utensils, the bells of the tower, and even the image of the holy mother, with that of St. Joseph; and when they had murdered all the inhabitants, and plundered all their possessions, they departed laden with spoils, and the heads of the slain. But it so fell out by divine dispensation, that Barreda was just then meditating an excursion against the savages, at no great distance, and upon receiving information of this outrage of the Abipones, immediately flew thither with his followers. After pursuing the fugitives for a long time, day and night, he learned that they had separated into two companies and gone different ways. The height of his wishes was to rescue out of the hands of the savages the image of the divine mother, and though he hesitated a little which way to take, yet, by God's grace, he finally chose that which led to the party in possession of the holy image. Proceeding for some time with all speed, he at last surprizes the Abipones, sitting unsuspiciously on the ground while their horses were feeding in the pastures. The approach of the St. Iagân soldiers being perceived, the infantry threw themselves into an adjacent wood. The Spaniards instantly flew to the baggage which

the savages had relinquished, and joyfully discovered amongst the rest the image of the Virgin. The enemy's horses were collected and their saddles burnt. The wood was, for some time, surrounded on all sides by the soldiers; but at length, the Abipones showed such obstinacy in their lurking-holes, and the horses were so weakened by three days' hunger and fatigue, that Barreda began to think of retreating. Nothing was ever heard of the image of St. Joseph, but most likely it was thrown into some deep marsh. This hostile aggression upon Rio Seco induced the Cordobans to surround that church with high stone walls, strengthened with four towers, that it might no longer be exposed to the injuries of the savages, and that, like the other colonists, they might defend themselves in those fortlets, on any impending danger.

The Abipones penetrated also into the valley of Calamuchita, which, though inclosed by rocks, is rich in herds, at the instigation of a Negro slave, who, being offended by his master, chose to satiate his desire of vengeance by the hands of the savages, since he could not by his own. Much blood was shed there, and every thing plundered that came to hand. At Zumampa and the neighbouring places, slaughter and rapine were almost daily committed. The parish of St. Miguel in Rio Verde was depopulated by

continual assaults. Those territories, especially, by which the Rio Segundo flows, were not only infested by the Abipones, but chosen by them as places of abode, where they laid in wait for travellers to Sta. Fè, or Buenos-Ayres. The place called Cruz alta afforded great opportunities for pillaging. The terror excited by the slaughters committed there increased every day. On account of the magnitude of the danger, the waggons for conveying merchandise could never pass to and fro, except in large companies. The men appointed to defend the caravans, being generally of the very lowest order, unfurnished with muskets, armed with spears alone, and moreover entirely destitute both of courage and vigilance, were every one slain. The Abipones seized the merchandise and the droves of horses and oxen, and burnt the waggons to ashes. These tragic events happened very frequently, and were most ruinous to traders. One, which is of more recent occurrence, I shall relate, and pass by the rest. Five and twenty Cordoban waggons bound to Sta. Fè were attacked by the Abipones, on their second day's journey, a few leagues from the city. The drivers and guards were all killed whilst sleeping, as usual, at mid-day, in the plains, (except one who was feeding the oxen on horseback.) Amongst

the number of the slain was Father Diego Herrera, a Jesuit, destined for the towns of the Guaranies; he was only deprived of his clothes in the first attack, but lost his life in the second. A rosary, a square hat, and a habit were carried away by the savages as trophies, and the prayer-books scattered about the plain. Kebachichi, the leader of that expedition, wore the slain priest's robe and square hat at all public drinking parties, in commemoration of the bloody deed. This man, who some years after resided in the town of St. Jeronymo, when upon a visit to us in the colony of Concepcion, requested my companion to give him a hat, and on being refused, said to the Father in a threatening tone, "Dare you deny me a hat? Don't you know that I am a slayer of Fathers?" The Vice-Governor of Sta. Fè, to avenge those who had suffered the loss either of their lives or their properties, marched with some of his companies into Chaco; but the event did him little honour. He met with a horde of Abipones, but they falsely declared themselves innocent of the slaughters that had been committed. Meantime the arrival of the Spaniards being spread throughout the neighbourhood, more and more companies of Abipones assembled, and at last raised such a numerous army, that the Vice-Governor thought it more advisable to treat the

Abipones with biscuit and other gifts as friends, than to assault them with balls and gunpowder as enemies; which cowardice in their general filled the soldiers with indignation. Fearing a dangerous return, he hastened toward the city, the Abipones pressing behind with equal speed. The soldiers themselves condemned this retreat; for impunity and the inactivity of some of the Spaniards renders the savages more and more bold in their attempts; yet they are astounded if any one summons up a little courage to oppose their assaults, and presents a musket in a threatening manner. This was found by Galarza, Viceroy of Cordoba, who, in returning from Buenos-Ayres with some waggons, encountered Kebachichi and a troop of Abipones. Galarza, seeing the enemy at hand, leapt from his horse, that he might more conveniently make use of his musket. But whilst he was hastily tucking up his travelling-dress that it might not retard him in using his arms, his horse took fright and ran away, and being furnished with precious trappings, and with pistols, was stopped by an Abipon. But none of them dared approach the enemy's waggons, because they were defended by Galarza, who was armed with a musket. The enemy were deterred from plundering the waggons, and slaying the attendants, by Galarza's presence of mind, and by the

sight of this musket, which was nevertheless incapable of doing any harm. But he could not prevent the oxen and horses, which were at a distance from the waggons, from being carried off. The neighbouring fortification of Mazangani seems to have deterred these two and twenty Abipones from attempting any thing further. Whenever I heard this fortification spoken of, I figured to myself a place fortified with ditches, trenches, walls, mounds, artillery and a garrison. But how was I deceived! In travelling from Buenos-Ayres to Cordoba, I perceived Mazangani to be a square area, scarce fifty feet in diameter, and hedged round with trunks, and thorny boughs of trees. At the side of it stands a miserable hut covered with straw, and built of sticks and mud, inhabited by a poor wretched man who there exercises the several functions of Governor, garrison, and watchman; for he ascends a high tree placed in the middle of the court to discover if any savages are to be seen in the surrounding plain. In order to deter them from approaching, and at the same time to apprize the neighbourhood of their arrival, he fires a cannon. This is a faithful description of that terrible fortress. Yet those who reached it thought themselves, as it were, in port. From this you may judge how little was necessary to repel those heroic

savages. But rendered daily bolder by frequent experiments, they learnt at last to despise these little fortresses: for by casting fire with their arrows they easily burnt the hedges, the cottages, and the defenders of them. Hence the Spaniards, for the preservation of their safety, erected little stone or brick fortresses in various places, and strengthened them with warlike machines.

The plain called El Tio, which lies between Sta. Fè and Cordoba, is uninhabited for almost thirty leagues, and consequently dangerous to travellers; for not only the desert, but also a long wood which crosses the plain ground from North to South, affords the Abipones an opportunity of pillaging and making surprizes, especially at El Pozzo Redondo; for after a great deal of dry weather, in this vast plain not a drop of water is to be found, nor a bit of wood to make a fire with; but both are supplied by the lake called El Pozzo Redondo, which is near a wood. To travellers, therefore, who have crossed the plain and are parching with thirst, nothing is more desirable than this lake, and at the same time nothing is more formidable, since they cannot reach it without risking their lives; for in this place the Mocobios and Abipones lie in wait for the Spaniards, whom they know to be in the habit of travelling

by it. I have twice taken a journey to El Pozzo Redondo, accompanied by four Spaniards. The first time we were in great trepidation from the memory of slaughters recently committed there; on the second we had nothing but inconvenience to endure, a two years' drought having entirely dried up the lake. We and all our horses must have perished with thirst, had not a great quantity of rain fallen that night, accompanied with thunder. To increase the general consternation, our guide told us that a certain Spaniard, in the service of the Royal Governor, who had attended many campaigns in Europe, formerly passed a night in this place. To the affirmations of the Paraguayrian soldiers who accompanied him, that this place was dangerous from being liable to the insidious attacks of the Abipones, he boastingly replied, that those American pillagers were more worthy of derision than of dread. But the Abipones assailing them the next day, he was so terrified at their yells and their very aspect, that he suffered every indignity to which cowards are liable. The savages carried off the horses, and whatever else pleased their fancies. The European hero owed his life to his Paraguayrian companions, and learnt to fear what he had thought a jest the day before. But during the latter years of my residence in Paraguay, the plain

of El Tio was placed in security. Fortifications were erected in two places, where a company of soldiers keeps continual watch, and daily reconnoitres those parts whence the approach of the savages is apprehended. Ever since Alvarez, master of the horse, was preferred to the command of these guards, great restraint has been put upon the licence of the savages, who before left nothing untouched, nothing unattempted. I myself have witnessed what universal dread they excited, when we sixty Europeans, accompanied by some Spanish natives, performed a journey of one hundred and forty leagues, from the port of Buenos-Ayres, where we had landed a little before, to Cordoba. Our company consisted of about a hundred waggons, each drawn by four oxen, but the number was doubled when they had to cross marshes: the driver goads them on with a long pole, armed with a spike, and a horseman generally goes before to show the way. These heavy waggons are supported by two huge wheels, and have an arch at the top covered with a hide, that the rain may run off them. The sides are sometimes enclosed with boards, sometimes with mats, and have the appearance of a basket. No iron is employed in any part of them. In the hind part where the door is, there is a ladder to ascend

by; in front there is a window. Each waggon is generally occupied by one person, sometimes by two, and serves for house, bed, and dining-room; for in the midst is placed a mattress, on which you are conveyed along, with a jolting that, for the two or three first days, produces vomiting, like sea-sickness. Most of the journey is performed in the night, for the oxen cannot long bear the heat of the sun in the daytime. Six pair of oxen are assigned to each waggon, that they may relieve one another in the labour. To watch and feed so great a number of cattle, many guards are necessary, each of which have need of many horses. Neither they nor the drivers, nor the men who ride before the waggons, are supplied with any other food except beef, which is also the daily fare of the travellers in the waggons; so that a great many oxen are consumed every day to satisfy so many hungry stomachs. From this you may judge how great must be the number of men and beasts, when a hundred, or more frequently two hundred, waggons of this kind, travel a hundred and forty leagues of desert land together; and, good heavens! what a noise they make! for the wheels are never greased; they even catch fire sometimes by the continual friction of the wooden axle, and wrap the waggon itself in flames. Excepting a few

estates and cottages in the neighbourhood of Buenos-Ayres and Cordoba, you find nothing but a plain, void of inhabitants, buildings, trees, rivers, or hills, but abounding in horses, wild asses, emus, does, skunks (zorrinos,) and tigers. Fuel and fresh water are forced to be carried for the daily consumption of the travellers. We were often obliged to drink the muddy rain water which remains in the ditches, though the very beasts, unless parching with thirst, would have refused it. This immense wilderness which we had entered daily threatened us with fresh difficulties and fresh dangers, greater than any we had experienced in a three months' voyage on the ocean. Scarce a day or night passed without tidings of the Spanish scouts having seen the footsteps of the savages, or heard their whistles or pipes; in consequence of which, most of the waggons were daily placed in the form of a circle, for their mutual defence, and furnished with spears and muskets. But whenever the Spaniards recollected how many former travellers had fallen into the hands of the Indians, in these parts, they thought the very rustling of the grass a harbinger of the approach of the Abipones, and whilst the veteran natives of Paraguay were thus alarmed at shadows, they inspired us novices in America with continual

dread. Our fears, however, proved groundless, for none of the savages presented themselves to our sight; a circumstance which we attributed to the special favour of God, since that part of the country had for many years been the theatre of rapine and slaughter.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE FRUITLESS EXCURSIONS OF THE CORDOBANS AGAINST THE ABIPONES.

WHAT! you exclaim, did the minds of the Cordobans at last grow callous to so much slaughter?—Were they so tame as never to think of revenge?—Did Cordoba want men, or arms, or strength? In neither of these requisites was that flourishing city deficient. The Cordobans have always in readiness twelve thousand men fit to bear arms. Cordoba abounds in swift and strong horses. The bodies of the inhabitants are strong and vigorous, and their minds filled with the desire of military glory; they might not only put the Abipones to flight, but reduce the whole province of Chaco: in short, they might do every thing against the savages, did not the vain fear with which they are possessed make them despair of doing any thing. Whilst depressed by the recollection of the slaughters they had suffered, they thought victory must always attend the Abipones; they dared attempt nothing against them, and were thus forsaken by fortune, which usually favours the brave. I will here

describe some expeditions of the Cordobans, the issue of which was always either unfortunate or ridiculous.

The Abipones laid waste the territories of Rio Segundo, and some Cordoban forces were sent out to repress them. The enemy was overtaken in the open plain. On one side stood the Spaniards, on the other the Abipones, in battle-array. They threatened one another for a long time, but no one had courage to begin the attack, till at last an Abipon leapt from his horse, approached the ranks of the Spaniards, and challenged one of them to single combat. Many of the soldiers would have been willing enough to engage with this bold one, but the leader of the expedition forbade them to stir hand or foot, under pain of death; perceiving which, the Abipones slowly departed, each his own way, leaving the Spaniards to themselves. The Cordoban captains acted in the same way on other occasions, and by thus betraying their own fear, rendered the savages still bolder in their projects. To pacify the minds of the people, endless expeditions were undertaken against Chaco, but all unsuccessful. There were many causes for this. These delicate warriors always drove before them a vast number of horses and oxen, consequently the journey was retarded by the multitude of

beasts. The number of captains was too great in proportion to that of soldiers; there were too many to give commands and too few to execute them. Besides laden mules, they carried a good many waggons for conveying provisions, which are always sure to impede a journey. Moreover, the Commander-in-chief made use of a chariot for show. I myself saw a place in Chaco where that chariot and all the waggons were burnt by the Cordobans, when, surrounded by pools and marshes, they could neither go back nor forwards. Doubtless the ways which led to the retreats of the savages in Chaco, were dangerous to the Indians themselves. The nature of the soil is such, that after a long cessation of rain, it grows as dry as a flint, and denies even the little birds wherewith to drink; but if the showers be frequent, you will not find an inch of dry ground to walk or lie down upon. As the plain is varied neither by fountains, hills, nor stones, but runs out into a vast extent of even ground, covered with turf, when deluged with rain it presents the appearance of a lake. At other times the road is intercepted by marshes and overflowing rivers, which occasion delay, even if the soldiers can overcome them by swimming; but if this be not the case, they are entirely prevented from proceeding, being unprovided with bridges or

skiffs. The place of these is supplied, as I have said, by the pelota; but, as those vessels are capable of holding but one man at once, much time will be consumed whilst four hundred soldiers are transported, in this manner, to the opposite shore; and, likewise so much noise must necessarily be made during the process, that the enemy, apprized of their arrival, will either take to speedy flight, or rush on the Spaniards whilst unprepared and separated from one another by the river. If, therefore, you would know the chief reason why the Spaniards so often returned ingloriously home from Chaco, without even obtaining a sight of the savages, it was that they could not swim.

Of this I had a most creditable witness in Landriel, who sometimes acted as guide to the Cordobans in their expeditions into Chaco; and under whose conduct they arrived, after many days' journey, at the eastern shore of the river Malabrigo, on the opposite side of which the Abipones Riikahes were accustomed to pitch their tents. It was a difficult matter to discover their lurking-holes, to attack which was the object of the expedition; the whole plain being deluged with water to such a degree that no traces of either man or beast could be found there. The only things that appeared above the surface of the water were some large

ant-hills, from one of which Landriel perceived that a honeycomb had been lately taken. This circumstance led him to conjecture that the Abipones must be somewhere near, and after much search he discovered a large horde of them, which might have been attacked, conquered, plundered, and destroyed on the same day, had Landriel brought soldiers of St. Iago, Corrientes, or Sta. Fè, all excellent swimmers, instead of Cordobans who are ignorant of that art; for as they drew nigh to the hostile horde, it was necessary to cross the river Malabrigo, which, being at that time greatly overflowed, would neither suffer a bridge, nor allow of being forded. The soldiers might all have been transported to the opposite shore on a hide, but they foresaw that a passage of this kind could not be effected in less than a day, whatever haste were employed. Meantime the Abipones, roused by the noise of the Spaniards, or by the neighing of their horses alone, would have placed their families in safety, and undoubtedly attacked and routed the Cordobans, who were never formidable to them, and would be still less so at that time, when their forces were divided by the river. After discussing these matters, they concluded that it was most advisable to hasten their return, which they did, falling, rather than marching; for the way had been

rendered slippery from the inundation, and dangerous on account of the deep holes underneath the water. Numberless multitudes of wild oxen had formerly filled the plain, and the bulls by tearing the ground with their horns, as is usual with them when enraged, had occasioned those numerous holes: which are the more dangerous to horsemen because when covered with water they cannot be seen: many of them are one cubit deep, and equally wide. If any of the Cordobans slipped into one of these holes, his comrades all followed him, and fell in too, and when Landriel advised them to turn their horses a little to the right or the left, for the sake of avoiding the ditch where their companion had fallen, they seldom attended to his admonitions, saying, "It is true we saw our fellow-soldier fall in there, but we also saw him get safely out again. If we go another way we shall perhaps fall into a deeper ditch, whence we may not rise without injury." These holes are properly called by the Spaniards *pozzos*, or wells, because they receive the rain-water, and preserve it a long time for the use of travellers, when the plains and woods are parched by a dry season. From what I have related you may collect, that the expeditions of the Cordobans into Chaco, so far from subduing and overawing the savages, served only to con-

firm them in their disposition to plunder; indeed they became more unrestrained in their attacks upon the colonists of Cordoba, in proportion as they became more fully convinced of the imbecility of the Cordoban soldiers, whom they believed incapable of returning injury for injury, slaughter for slaughter, and deterred from venturing into Chaco by the difficulties of the journey thither. To ensure the safety of the merchants, soldiers were at last hired to keep guard continually over those places. The tax laid on the herb of Paraguay, which is conveyed in waggons into Peru, was the chief source of the money for paying the soldiers. But this provision, though it thoroughly drained the purses of the merchants, did not much lessen the boldness or frequency of these robberies, the savages sometimes craftily deceiving this little band of soldiers, sometimes intimidating it with superior numbers. It is true that when most part of the Mocobios and Abipones were settled by us in the colonies, the province, delivered from so many enemies, began to breathe once more. The remainder of both nations, who still wandered without these colonies, though they disturbed and laid waste the country of Sta. Fè and Asumpcion, hardly ever attempted any hostilities against the territories of Cordoba; which tranquillity they owed to

Alvarez, captain at Rio Segundo, and to Benavides commander at Rio Seco. As soon as those brave men took upon themselves the direction of military affairs the Cordobans became bolder, and the Abipones more timid in their attacks, especially after one of them had been taken in the plain by a Cordoban soldier, and the formidable Pachiekè, son of the Cacique Alaykin, slain. When we returned to Europe, almost all the Abipones deserted the colonies we had founded and taken care of. Weary of the peace and friendship which had been established between them and the Spaniards, they resumed their arms, with what success is best known to those who had to contend with the savages, enraged and distracted at our departure. I have shown how formidable and destructive the savage tribe of Abipones was to the whole province, and how little the arms of the Spaniards availed to check and restrain them. What fruit we had of our endeavours in subduing and reclaiming them is yet to be related.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE FREQUENT ENDEAVOURS OF THE JESUITS IN REDUCING THE ABIPONES TO OBEDIENCE UNDER THE KING OF SPAIN AND CONVERTING THEM TO THE CATHOLIC RELIGION.

Amongst those who in the last century interested themselves in the conversion of the Abipones, Father Juan Pastòr, a Spaniard, merits the first place. Long celebrated for his apostolical missions to the Indians, he was made master of the college at St. Iago del Estero, when he conceived the project of visiting the Abipones, and, if he found them tractable, of instructing them in Christianity. They were then dwelling above a hundred and sixty leagues from the city of St. Iago. The difficulty and ruggedness of the roads were almost greater than you can conceive; but the perseverance of this intrepid man overcame every thing. He chose for his companion Father Gaspar Cerqueira, a native of Paraguay, who understood the Tonocotè language, which is used by many nations, and was of much service to him in this great expedition. After crossing a vast wilderness of nearly a hundred leagues, they

turned aside for a while amongst the Matarà Indians, who, though they had all received baptism, and were governed in one colony by a secular priest, had little more than the name of Christians. Bárzana and Añasco, priests of our order, and before them St. Solano, had certainly not been useless amongst them; but the lapse of time had entirely eradicated from their minds whatever they had learnt of Christianity. Drunkenness was daily practised amongst them. The rites which they yearly celebrated to the souls of the departed were moistened with drink, more than with tears. Maize, ground by the teeth of old women, and fermented in water, served them for wine. Each was ordered to bring with him an emu, to furnish out the funeral table. After feasting three days they devoted one hour to weeping and lamentations, and then wiped away their tears and returned to their cups and dainties. When heated with liquor, they frequently polluted these anniversaries with quarrels, strife, wounds, and mutual slaughter.

Their pious guests Pastòr and Cerqueira spared no pains to obliterate the memory of so great an impiety committed by a people who called themselves Christians. They never ceased day or night to admonish them of their duty: and their private conversations and public sermons

in the church effected so much that many, after confession, sincerely promised amendment. I have seen a few remnants of this nation which are still surviving in a wretched little town called Matarà, on the banks of the Salado. In former times they were in subjection to some private individuals, Spaniards of St. Iago, and, though once numerous, fell away by degrees. After some days' stay, the Fathers pursued their journey to the Abipones, accompanied by the curate of the place and the principal Caciques, with a company of soldiers, who hoped, by means of the Fathers, to regain the friendship of the Abipones, between whom and their nation an ancient and bloody feud existed. The Fathers had certainly much need of their company. Sixty leagues of the journey still remained, through an unknown country, full of woods, lakes, and marshes. Had they not had the Mataràs for guides and protectors, they could neither have safely undertaken such a journey, nor prudently proceeded to the business they came upon. They were obliged to creep for a long time through trackless woods, and at every step to struggle with briers, which generally proved a bloody contest. To assuage the burning thirst occasioned by extreme heat and bodily fatigue, they could meet with nothing but stinking water out of pools and

ditches, which offended their nostrils to such a degree that the poor creatures almost thought thirst preferable. They could not turn their eyes without perceiving traces of tigers, nor move a step without meeting swarms of gnats and other insects: insomuch that the stings of the one, and the apprehension of the other, prevented them from resting at night, though sore fatigued in the day-time. Issuing from the woods into the open plain, they found themselves surrounded by continuous marshes occasioned by the inundations of the river Bermejo, which, deserting its channel, spreads to the extent of five leagues. A vast plain, white with waters, presented itself to their eyes. By the number of difficulties you may judge how great must have been the courage of the Fathers, who not only endured them unrepiningly themselves, but by their example inspired patience into their Indian companions. Vanquished by none of the asperities of the way they all persevered in their journey, till they reached the territories of the Abipones.

When two leagues distant from their stations, fearing that the Abipones would take them for enemies, they halted awhile in that place, attended with guards, whose flight was more apprehended by the Fathers than an attack from the Abipones; for they well knew that the

Mataràs trembled at the very name of these savages, and were half dead with fear at the idea of being so near them. The eloquence of the Fathers was scarce sufficient to do away their fears. To ascertain that all was safe, it was intrusted to Father Cerqueira to go forward with two companions, and endeavour to find out some method of presenting himself to the Abipones and entering their hordes, without being suspected of hostile intentions. The Father had scarcely gone a league when he met a troop of two hundred Abipones, who had been apprized, by their emissaries, of the arrival of foreigners. Approaching them, of his own accord, he spoke to the savages in the Tonocotè language, which many of the Abipones, at that time, were acquainted with. "You are greatly mistaken," said he, "if you imagine that I am alarmed at seeing you, which is the very thing that I most desire. After crossing immense wildernesses, and struggling through an hundred dangers for your sake, I am here at last. Do not take me for an enemy, nor cherish unkindly feelings towards me. Behold I come unarmed to teach you the way to happiness. If you have your own welfare at heart, do not reject the Author of it in me, but rather look upon me as a friend, and as the messenger of the great Creator of all things."

The savages, satisfied by this harangue, exchanged threats for welcomes, and emulated one another in showing civilities to him whom at first they had surrounded with arms. The Father took advantage of this happy disposition in his favour, and informed them that another Father, of the same mind as himself, remained a short way behind with a few companions, and that he was coming laden with scissars, hooks, needles, and glass-beads, with which he intended liberally to remunerate those who would listen to the law of God. The Cacique of the neighbouring horde, instigated by the expectation of these trifling gifts, commanded his son, with a proper attendance, to bring Father Pastòr speedily to him. On his approach he was received in the neighbouring horde with public marks of rejoicing, and a festive percussion of the lips, and accosted by the name of the Great Father. After explaining the reasons of his coming, he distributed amongst those present, the pins, and other gifts above-mentioned. Food was then produced, which the guests, in spite of their hunger, would gladly have been excused from tasting; for it consisted of stinking fish, with no other sauce than the good-will of the givers. But the Fathers, that they might not appear to despise this savage delicacy, forced them-

selves to taste some of it, though against their stomachs. The next day, Father Pastòr, planting a cross in the ground, dedicated that land to Christ, and performed divine service in a tent, at the conclusion of which, he led round the Abipones, in the manner of supplicants, and taught them to kneel before the cross. The savages behaved wonderfully well on this occasion, listening with attentive ears and minds to the preacher whilst he explained to them the reasons of his coming, and the heads of the holy religion. Caliguila, then chief Cacique of that nation, greatly approved of their words, and conducted both Fathers, with much honour, to his horde on the opposite shore of the Bermejo. There they were received with joyful acclamations, and eagerly attended to, whilst they endeavoured to instruct the savages in the Christian faith, and to instil into their minds a sense of religion. The report of their arrival spreading throughout the neighbourhood, the concourse of strangers increased every day. Caliguila permitted our religion to be promulgated amongst his people. He publicly declared that the Fathers were at liberty to build a little church, to baptize infants, and to instruct them in the ordinances of Christianity; with this condition, that the young men were not to be detained before and after

noon in long prayers and ceremonies, lest inactivity and sedentary habits should damp their martial ardour, and lessen their dexterity in the use of arms. But the Fathers denied that this alacrity and military knowledge were destroyed by the exercises of piety, and this they proved by the example of the Spanish youth. Caliguila, however, besought the Fathers in the name of the rest, that they would allow the boys always to carry a bow and arrows, even during divine service, that they might never run the risk of being endangered by a sudden attack from the enemy whilst unprovided with arms. This proposal they willingly acceded to, as it contained nothing repugnant to the laws of Christianity. But the Fathers had occasion repeatedly to warn the savages, who still savoured of their ancient superstitions, from the performance of their old rites of sepulture and divination.

The conditions on both sides being accepted, the cross which they had made of a lofty palm tree, was erected in that place with many reverential ceremonies. The Abipones were instructed in the heads of religion, in daily assemblies, all their savage customs and notions extirpated, and persons of every age fortified against the artifices of the jugglers. Father Pastòr, seeing an aged female of this profession on the point of

death, vainly endeavoured to administer baptism to her. The obstinate old woman withstood the earnest exhortations of the father, whether he promised her the eternal joys of Heaven, or threatened her with torments from the evil spirit. She replied, with a laugh, that she had little occasion to fear the evil demon, with whom she had been familiar so many years. But others of better understanding began to believe what the Fathers told them, and openly to distrust the arts and words of the jugglers. To sum up all, by continual perseverance they wrought so much, that in a few weeks, they joyfully beheld something like Christianity beginning to flourish amongst these savages.

Father Cerqueira returning to the Mataràs, Juan Pastòr redoubled his efforts. Though enfeebled by age, and with strength by no means athletic, he built a little hut of sticks and straw, and plastered it over with mud. In a short time, he wrote out with much labour, an epitome of the Abiponian tongue; of this vocabulary, when I was there, nothing but the memory remained. But alas! these flourishing hopes of the improvement of the Abipones were all destroyed by an unexpected messenger, who called Juan Pastòr home on urgent business. Nor was there at that time

any one to supply his place, so great was the scarcity of priests of our order. Father Lozano, in his History of Chaco, says, that Pastòr was sent to Europe to treat of the affairs of the province in the courts of Rome and Madrid, and that he had collected out of various countries, and intended to bring into Paraguay, the number of Jesuits necessary for the settling of so many savages. But just as he was going to set sail with his apostolical supplies, he received letters from the Royal Senate, at Madrid, prohibiting him from carrying any foreigners into Paraguay. In consequence of which he was obliged to send back the other priests into their native countries, and with a very few Spaniards, for the most part young men, and according to our established rule, unfit to be ordained for many years, sailed to Paraguay, still labouring under the want of priests for so great a number of colonies. This decree of the rulers of Madrid, excluding all foreign priests from Paraguay, was certainly extremely disadvantageous to the Spaniards themselves. For if those German, Italian, and Flemish Jesuits had arrived in Paraguay, doubtless, by their labours, the Abipones, Tobas, and Mocobios would have been induced to submit to the authority of the King of Spain, and to receive the Catholic religion; whilst, left for

nearly a century in their savage state, they over-ran the whole province with hostile, and generally victorious arms.

But when, from her decreased population, Spain could no longer supply priests sufficient for the vast provinces of America, the court of Madrid not only invited foreign Jesuits whom they had formerly excluded from Paraguay, but even had them carried thither at the expense of the government, and to the great advantage of the monarchy. It would be endless to mention, individually, all the Italians, Flemings, and Germans, who, for many years, have rendered signal service to the Spanish monarchy, and the Christian religion, in Paraguay and the other provinces of Spanish America, in our times. This honour has sometimes been envied to foreigners, but never denied them.

CHAPTER XII.

A COLONY FOUNDED FOR THE MOCOBIOS AFTERWARDS THE OCCASION OF ABIPONIAN COLONIES.

THE Spaniards, weakened by daily slaughters, were extremely desirous of procuring a peace with the savages, whom, for so many years, they had proved unable to vanquish by arms. Instructed by the experience of other nations, they were persuaded that the friendship of the Abipones and Mocobios could never be either obtained, or preserved, unless these people surrendered themselves to our instructions in civilization and religion. And nothing was more desired by the Jesuits, than the discovery of some means whereby the savages might be induced to inhabit the colonies founded for them. The Royal Governors of cities were liberal in their offers of assistance; but they seldom, or in a very limited manner, fulfilled their promises. Satisfied when the Abipones were driven by our means, into a new town, and kept from plunder, they left the care of feeding and clothing them entirely to us. They thought it a mighty performance to build a few huts of wood and mud in a new colony, to serve as chapels

and dwelling-houses for us and the Indians. These being completed in a day or two, by the hasty labours of the soldiers, they sent high-flown letters both to the Viceroy of Peru, and the court of Madrid, in which they declared themselves the founders of a new town, and the conquerors of a savage nation. But if those worthy Governors were really solicitous for the safety of the province committed to their care, and the firm establishment of the Indians whom they had delivered to our instructions, they should have made a point of furnishing every new colony with herds of oxen and flocks of sheep, with axes and other agricultural instruments, lest the savage inhabitants, from want of meat for daily consumption, of wool for weaving garments, and of ploughs for daily use, should be obliged to subsist by plunder or hunting, to wander without the colony, return to their native woods, and, destitute of all necessaries, to declare, that they looked upon war as more to their advantage than such a peace. But of this subject I shall treat more fully in another place. The city of Sta. Fè formerly cultivated, more than any of the rest, the friendship of the Abipones and Mocobios, some troops of whom, on the strength of a peace established between them, stationed themselves in the plains adjacent to the city, and were permitted to enter the

market-place for the purpose either of buying what they needed, or of disposing of what they had taken from the other Spaniards, with whom they were still at variance. They frequently visited our college. By daily intercourse with the Spaniards their ferocity gradually disappeared, and Aletin and Chitalin, chief Caciques of the Mocobios, were rendered so tractable by the presents and conversation of the Jesuits, that they refused not to be instructed in the holy religion along with their people. The Spaniards and Jesuits thought they should be well repaid for their labours, could they but induce a nation so formidable for numbers and military valour, to submit to God and the King. A colony was founded by Father Francisco Burges Navarro, a few leagues from the city, and distinguished by the name of St. Xavier. At first it only contained twenty families, but received such accessions from multitudes of fresh comers, that it increased beyond the expectation of all. As they were but a few in the beginning, the Fathers, by the liberality of the Spanish, but still more of the Guarany towns, were enabled so fully to satisfy, not only the necessities, but even the desires of the savages, that, deserting their predatory habits, they all rejoiced in their fortune, and instigated their countrymen, who dwelt more towards the North, to embrace

the same kind of life. The other Mocobios without the colony of St. Xavier, who, scorning the example of their countrymen, still continued to rove up and down their own territories, received a complete overthrow from Barreda, a few being slain, and about two hundred taken prisoners. Those who survived this slaughter, fled for fear, to the colony of St. Xavier, whither, likewise, the excellent Barreda afterwards sent many of his captives.

The colony, as it increased in the number of its inhabitants, made great progress in religious knowledge. Affairs assumed an extremely favourable aspect, much more so than, from the ferocity of the savages, could a short while before have been expected. Their native customs were exterminated; whatever savoured of barbarism and superstition was abolished, and succeeded by virtues of every kind. Persons of all ages received religious instruction and baptism, whenever they proved themselves worthy of it. They were as obedient in performing whatever was enjoined them, as docile in believing whatever they heard. Accustomed to spears and arrows, they nevertheless accounted it a pleasure to handle the plough and the axe; and to employ themselves in tilling the fields and in building houses. Two schools were opened, in the one of which children learnt

the arts of reading and writing, and in the other were instructed in music, and taught to play upon the musical instruments used in churches. One of their masters was Father Florian Pauke, a Silesian,• by whose instructions many were rendered musicians and singers, and formed an agreeable addition to divine service. This being known throughout the province, the Mocobian musicians were invited to the cities of Buenos-Ayres and Sta. Fè, where they chaunted mass and vespers, accompanied by a full band of instruments. The sweet symphony excited the admiration of all the Spaniards, and even drew tears from many of them, when they thought of the terror which, a few years before, the parents of the young musicians had inspired them with, whenever their savage trumpets and loud shouts were heard in repeated assaults.

I have no sort of doubt, that both the commencement and progress of the fresh colony, under God, were chiefly owing to the exertions and good example of Aletin and Chitalin. The former, who was remarkable for the gentleness of his disposition and for natural probity, never neglected any thing conducive to the improvement of his people. He was always the first to attend divine service in the morning, and the holy institutions for teaching Christianity at mid-day. Standing by the little chapel with

a brazen bell in his hand, he called to the performance of their religious duties, those very people, whom he had formerly animated by sound of trumpet to slaughter the Spaniards. If any violation of integrity came under his notice, he either immediately corrected it himself, or requested one of the Fathers, to do so, whom he always honoured with the promptest obedience, and manifested the utmost alacrity in serving. In this alone he claimed pre-eminence above the rest, that, though the eldest of them all, he ever laboured the most both at home and abroad. Chitalin, who was more illustrious amongst his own countrymen for high birth and military fame, possessed such acuteness of intellect as occasioned Father Bonenti, the companion of Father Burges, to say we had the greatest reason to thank God, that this Indian Chitalin was devoid of book learning: for were this not the case, he of himself would be sufficient to deceive all mankind. But though of a very lively temper, in the prime of his years, arrogant, and proud of military fame, he submitted to the divine law and the will of the Fathers, and by so doing induced many to amend their conduct. Inconceivable is the importance attached to the examples of the Caciques by the Indians. The adage that the character of the king determines that of his

people, is no where more true than in America. The third Cacique of St. Xavier, who received the name of Domingo at his baptism, though younger than the two former, was superior to them both. Many years after the rest had entered the colony, he, with a troop of horse, spread terror and desolation throughout the land of Cordoba. Incensed at his countrymen on account of the peace they had established with the Spaniards, he long persecuted their town with the utmost virulence, and when the opportunity for slaughter was wanting, carried off droves of horses from the pastures of the city. Father Burges daily besought the Almighty to convert this mischievous man to a better course of life; his prayers were at length heard, and entering the colony, Domingo exceeded the rest in usefulness and good conduct as much as he had previously done in ferocity and the disposition to mischief. Some years afterwards, he obtained the captain's staff, as a reward of his merits, from Pedro Ceballos, Governor of Buenos-Ayres.

The example, authority and vigilance of such Caciques, caused this town, so lately composed of a barbarous and blood-thirsty rabble, to become a seminary of Christian piety. The strict observance of the marriage ceremony, the remarkable modesty of the youth of both sexes,

their prompt obedience, industry, and concord, together with the extreme good-will they manifested towards the priests, excited the admiration of the Spaniards, who had not yet quite forgotten their ancient barbarism. They desired baptism both for themselves, and for their children, as soon as they were born, though formerly, by an error common to all savages, they had considered it mortally dangerous. In the three last days of Lent, after hearing of the agonies of our Saviour, they all felt an eager desire to inflict tortures on themselves. Many cruelly lacerated their bodies, others carried crosses, like supplicants, as they had formerly seen practised by the Spanish penitents in the city of Sta. Fè. Nor could the young lads be restrained from following the example of their elders. Knotted leathern thongs supplied the place of scourges; and when crosses were wanting, they took yokes of oxen, axle-trees of waggons, heavy beams, or any timber at hand, to be applied to the purpose of making them. They seemed to take amazing pleasure in mangling their flesh. One of them, seeing the backs of his companions streaming with blood, cried, "See! how we are changed by the teaching of the Fathers! how unlike we are grown both to our former selves, and to our ancestors! Accustomed from boyhood to

shed the blood of others, we now voluntarily shed our own, and most justly. It is right that we punish ourselves for the numerous droves of horses that we have plundered, and slaughters that we have committed." According to the custom of the equestrian savages, the Mocobian mothers used fequently to kill their own offspring. By the extermination of this cruelty in mothers, together with the abolition of polygamy and divorce, the colony was enriched by a numerous progeny, though often diminished by the ravages of the small-pox. Father Francisco Burges, the founder, and for many years the Governor of this colony, was succeeded, or assisted by Miguel Zea, Joseph Cardiel, Joseph Garzia, Bonenti, Manuel Canelas, Joseph Brigniel, Joseph Lehmann, Pedro Pol, and Florian Pauke my successor when I was removed to the Abipones; from whose labours another colony of Christian Mocobios, distinguished by the name of Pedro and Pablo, took its rise. Over this colony presided the Cacique Amokin, who till that time had terribly infested the territories of the Spaniards with his Mocobios. You may have heard of a colony of Mocobios of the name of St. Xavier, situated near the city Esteco in Tucuman, in the last century, and it appears not foreign to my purpose to relate the origin,

state, and ruin of it, in this place. A great sedition was stirred up in Tucuman, at that time, by the Indians, and the Spaniards employed all their forces to repress the tumult. The city Esteco seemed doomed to destruction, unless the continual hostilities of the Mocobios were put a stop to. Alfonzo Mércado, Governor of Tucuman, thinking that peace might be more easily obtained without war, sent two Jesuits to pacify the Mocobios, and these legates were able to obtain, by fair words, what those who sent them could never have extorted by the sword. The savages promised peace, and maintained it, whilst Mercado was Governor of Tucuman, but receiving information that he had been succeeded by Angelo de Paredo, they renewed their hostilities. The Governor, to avenge the slaughters they had already committed, and to prevent them from attempting fresh, armed all the forces of the Spaniards, and of the tame Indians, and after twice entering Chaco, took and slew some companies of Mocobios. Although this expedition proved so fortunate, it by no means tended to establish the tranquillity of the province: for the survivors, though less numerous yet with redoubled spirit and courage, dared every thing against the victorious Spaniards, the memory of the slaughter they had suffered exasperating their

desire of vengeance, and supplying the place of numbers. Angelo de Paredo, therefore, softened by experience, adopted gentler methods to tranquillize the minds of the Mocobios. By gifts and conciliatory measures, he at length effected so much, that some companies of them, laying aside all enmity, settled in the neighbourhood of Esteco, and bore the appearance of a colony, which went by the name of St. Xavier. And as true religion is a strengthener of peace, and a certain instrument of good works, great pains were taken to induce them to embrace the Catholic religion. Father Diego Altamirano, a Jesuit, descended from a noble Spanish family, together with Father Bartolome Diaz, a native of Paraguay and well skilled in the languages of the Indians, were chosen to instruct these savages, but not permitted to reside amongst them by the provident Governor, who, fearing the ferocity of their disciples, wished to ensure the lives of the missionaries. On this account, they passed the night at Esteco; so that they were obliged to ride eight leagues every day in going and returning; as that city was four leagues distant from the settlements of the savages. Until a chapel could be built there, a very large cross was erected, near which the law of God was daily expounded. The Fathers spared no pains to civilize this

nation, but the character which they gained for singular patience was the only reward of their labours: for the Governor, who looked for the harvest, almost before the sowing was finished, destroyed the colony under various pretexts. The Mocobios who inhabited it, together with the other savages whom he had taken in his last expedition into Chaco, he distributed amongst the Tucuman cities in the service of the Spaniards; by which liberality he secured the good-will of the people, and remunerated them for their assistance in the excursions undertaken against Chaco; but the savage tribes, thus torn from their native soil, conceived new hatred of the Spanish name, and have persisted to this very day in revenging the injury done them by the Governor, continuing ever hostile, ever mischievous to the whole province.

It cannot be doubted but that this colony was planted by the Governor in a most inauspicious season; for at the very time that he committed the Mocobios to the religious instructions of the Fathers, he persecuted their countrymen in Chaco with the utmost bitterness; nor was the situation of the colony approved by prudent persons. The city Esteco, which was a few years after destroyed by an earthquake, abounded in public vices proportionable to its wealth and power. The neighbouring Mocobios, who

were more powerfully impelled to vice by the example of the licentious and intemperate, than to virtue by the exhortations of the Fathers, thought themselves justified in doing what they saw practised openly and with impunity by the Christian inhabitants of the city. This, amongst others, was the principal reason why the town of St. Xavier, founded in our times, was removed to thirty leagues distance from the city of Sta. Fè, that examples of wickedness, which are never wanting in the most virtuous cities, might not meet the eyes of the Mocobios. The Fathers were obliged to be extremely careful in preventing their Indian disciples from associating promiscuously with other Christians, in many of whom they would discover vices and impurities which they themselves were utterly ignorant of, or regarded with execration: for Spaniards are not the sole inhabitants of Paraguay; a mixed breed of Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians, are commonly to be seen there. Persons of good character, and respectable family, are never denied access to our colonies; on the contrary, they are well received by us, and permitted to lodge in our houses, sit at our tables, and survey any part of the town at their pleasure. But it was ordered by royal enactments that none of the dregs of society should gain admittance into the Indian towns, such being

the very men most calculated to pervert or delude the stupid Indians. To keep the town clear of these nuisances, no care and vigilance on the part of the Fathers could be deemed superfluous. Fellows of this description, though perhaps devoid of any evil intent in their coming, seldom depart without the commission of mischief: for they either cajole the Indians out of their clothes, and other property, or corrupt them by indecent jokes and actions, or, as is frequently the case, steal and carry home young men, marriageable girls, and even married women, to serve as domestic slaves, and often for worse purposes. Within two years seventy boys and girls were carried into captivity from the town of St. Stanislaus. The Bishop and Governor, when informed by me of the fact, threatened the raptors with I know not what; but vain was anger without strength, in a province where holy prelates had formerly been cast down by the seditious citizens, and Governors confined in chains and a prison.

The Abipones, on account of their old friendship with the Mocobios, were hospitably received and liberally treated in their visits to the town of St. [redacted]vier. Pleased with the gifts and conversation of the Fathers, they at length began to approve that kind of life which the Mocobios had adopted. Kebachin, a man of

high reputation amongst the Abipones, promised to induce his fellow-hordesmen to request colonies for themselves, of the Spaniards. Debayakaikin, chief of the Abiponian Caciques, at length desired to live under our discipline, in the territories of Sta. Fè; but when the Governor of that city pointed out the banks of the river Salado, to build the new colony upon, the Abipones disapproved of that situation, and a business of so much import was consequently suspended: for Ychoalay, who possessed much more penetration than the rest, said that the Spaniards had pitched upon that situation with a design of rendering the Abipones subservient to their will, as they had done with regard to the remainder of the Calchacuis in Carcaranal. The dread of slavery disconcerted these useful measures, to the great disadvantage both of the Spaniards, and of themselves. By what means the whole Abiponian nation was settled in four colonies, remains to be circumstantially related.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FIRST COLONY OF ST. JERONYMO, FOUNDED FOR THE ABIPONES RIIKAHÉS.

CORDOBA, impatient of war, and now no longer able to contend with her calamities, was eager to behold the Abipones appeased and reconciled. The instrument of attaining this desirable object was Father Diego Horbegozo, a Biscayan. He strongly urged the Abipones who frequented Sta. Fè, and the Vice-Governor, Francisco de Vera Muxica, the latter to build, and the former to accept of a colony; and his wishes were gratified in both points. Ychamenrankin, chief Cacique of the Riikahés, besides promising peace to all the Spaniards, agreed to resign himself and his people to the care of the Jesuits, on this condition, that the youth alone should be taught the elements of religion, but that older persons should by no means be compelled to study them. The Vice-Governor readily subscribed to this condition, because he flattered himself that the efforts of the Fathers would induce all ages, indiscriminately, to attend to the truth; and also because he was of opinion, that peace,

by which the public tranquillity, and the lives and fortunes of so many mortals were preserved, should be accepted without hesitation on whatever condition it were offered.

The situation of the colony was wisely left to the choice of the Abipones, who pitched upon the northern shore of the river Rey. This place, which is seventy leagues north of Sta. Fè, forms the centre of that territory which these people claim as their own. Here you behold a plain, about two hundred leagues in extent, abounding in good pasture, in wood for fuel and carpenter's work, and in vast numbers of wild animals. The soil is excellent and suitable to seed of every kind. Not a stone nor even a pebble can be met with here, nor any springs, so that the water of this place, being solely procured from the adjacent ditches, is seldom sweet, never clear. Nearly all the smaller rivers within sight are composed of muddy, bitter water, so salt, as to be refused by the very beasts, but which sweetens when increased by violent or continual rains. The same is the case with the Rio Rey, the principal river of the vicinity, which, in dry weather, becomes so shallow that travellers may cross it on foot, but is often swelled to such a degree by the inundations of the Parana, and by unusually heavy rains, that, overflowing its

banks, it spreads far and wide, and assumes the appearance of a lake. When the waters recede, they leave a muddy marsh in every part, so that a foot of land can hardly be found, on which you can stand with safety. The Abipones, ever distrusting the friendship of the Spaniards, chose this place to prevent the possibility of being treacherously attacked by them; and they thought that the difficulty of the journey, by keeping off the Spaniards, would prove a guard to themselves. But some years after, when their minds were softened, and their suspicions of Spanish perfidy laid aside, they requested to have this town removed from the northern to the southern shore, where it was placed on a large and pleasant hill. So far concerning the site of this colony. Let us now proceed to other particulars.

Affairs being settled in the city of Sta. Fè, the head of the college, Diego Horbegozo, took a journey to the hordes of the Abipones, for the double purpose of gaining the good-will of the whole nation, and of observing the nature of the place where the town was to be situated. Having informed himself of the intentions of the Abipones, he returned to the city, and procured the sacred utensils for the priests, instruments for agriculture and house-building,

and above all, the cattle necessary for the support of the Indians. But those very people, who had promised mountains of gold to avert from their throats the knives of the Abipones, were niggardly, and slow in fulfilling their engagements. The care not only of instructing, but likewise of supporting the Indians, as in other cases, fell solely upon the Fathers, who had perpetually to struggle with the want of all necessaries. For the assistance their prayers extorted from the royal treasury never equalled the necessities of the colony, and the expectations of the savages. Two Jesuits were appointed to take care of the town: Joseph Cardiel, a native of Castile, a man of the greatest intrepidity, and a missionary of various nations; to whom was given as a companion another Castilian, Francisco Navalon, a man of the gentlest disposition, and well fitted for economical cares, so that he rendered infinite services to this town for twenty years.

In the year 1748, the Vice-Governor of Sta. Fè, with two Fathers, and a troop of soldiers, went to the place designed for the colony. A small chapel, a little hut for the Fathers, and another for the chief Cacique, were hastily constructed by the soldiers, of wood and mud, and covered with hay. A heavy shower coming on, it seemed to have rained harder in the

apartment of the Fathers, than out of doors; indeed the fabric altogether was such as no labourer or herdsman in Europe would deign to inhabit. The Abipones, assembled in this place, made use of their mats for tents, till, polished by some years' discipline, they constructed rather handsomer edifices, for sacred purposes, for the Fathers, and for themselves. Yet how languidly would these fabrics have been conducted, had they not been aided by the advice and even the personal labour of the Fathers! The court-yard of our house was surrounded with stakes, to guard against the incursions of our savage enemies, and to serve as a place of refuge for the women and children, whilst the men were fighting out of doors. The Abipones Riikahés, under Neruigini and Ychoalay, their chief commanders, constituted this first colony, which scarce consisted of three hundred people. The Caciques Naarè and Kachirikin settled here likewise, with their numerous Yaaukanigas, whilst the people of Corrientes were building them the town of St. Ferdinand. After some months Lichinrain, and then Ychilimin, and Kebachichi, came with their people to the newly built colony, and subsequently more and more flocked thither. The greater number were attracted by the desire of novelty, rather than of religion. The

expectation of trifling presents, the beef which was every day gratuitously distributed, and security, were magnets which drew numbers to the colony. By observation, the town of St. Jeronymo is situated in the 28° 50′ lat. and the 317° 40′ long.

Father Joseph Cardiel being removed to the Mocobios, his place was filled by Father Joseph Brigniel, who had spent eleven years in the Guarany towns, and presided four years over the college at Corrientes. His companion for two years in the town of St. Jeronymo, and his pupil in the Abiponian tongue, I ever beheld in him the utmost industry and good nature, united with equal sanctity of life. He seemed created purposely to suit the tempers of the Abipones, who fly a supercilious person, and are won by easy manners. I told you before of his labours in investigating the nature of the Abiponian tongue, and in writing a vocabulary, grammar, catechism, sermons, &c. You shall now hear how much all the Paraguayrian towns were indebted to him. In order that the benefit of the peace granted by the Abipones to the city of Sta. Fè might be extended to all Paraguay, he contrived to have the chief Caciques of the whole nation convened in the town of St. Jeronymo. Each of the Caciques was accompanied by a chosen

troop of his own horse, figures terrible to behold. Whether the peace faithfully offered by all the Spaniards should be accepted, and whether peace should be granted unreservedly to all the Spaniards, by the whole Abiponian nation, these were the subjects of deliberation in that savage conclave. At first, there was a great diversity of opinions. Many inclined towards according their friendship to the inhabitants of Sta. Fè, Cordoba, and St. Iago, to the exclusion of the Corrientines and Paraguayrians, denying the expediency of a universal peace which should embrace all the Spaniards. "Such a cessation," said they, "will cause the use of arms, and our ancient boast of military glory, to decay amongst us. Inactivity will destroy the love of war implanted in the youth of our nation. Grown effeminate like the pedestrian Indians, we shall be subjugated by the Spaniards, as soon as we cease to be formidable to them. War with one Spanish province at least is necessary to us, that we may still enjoy the opportunity of plundering those things of which we have need for daily use. We shall get more from the Spaniards as their enemies, than as their friends. It is better to be feared than loved by them; and who can promise himself their love unmingled with secret hatred, and desire of re-

venge, when he calls to mind, how sorely we have persecuted this province for so many years? The conquered seldom love their conquerors."

On the other hand, Ychoalay strongly advised that the peace should be extended to all the Spanish towns. "I maintain," says he, "that the friendship offered us by all the Spaniards, should not only be granted to them all in return, but eagerly embraced as a benefit. Are you apprehensive that the military spirit of your countrymen will be extinguished, or that your arms will contract rust for want of use? Are there not lions, tigers, stags, emus, and all the feathery and scaly tribes against which to direct your weapons? If you feel such ardour for fighting, turn your arms and your anger against the Yapitalákas, Oaćkakalóts, Ychibachís, and other people with whom we are at variance. Does the recollection of former victories, and rash confidence in future ones, inspire you with such pride, that you scorn to receive all the Spaniards into your friendship? I allow that we have inflicted slaughters upon them; but will you always have the power, as you now have the inclination, to forget slaughters of their committing? The vicissitudes we have experienced sufficiently warn us not to trust too much to the changeful fortune of war. In-

deed I ever thought a certain peace with all the Spaniards much safer and better than the uncertain victories which you expect to gain from them. How pleasant to be able to enjoy undisturbed slumbers, without fear of the Spaniards, on whose approach we have passed so many sleepless nights! How many days have we endured hunger! How many lakes and rivers have we swam in our flight, to find lurking-holes in distant woods, where we might preserve our lives! Ah! I feel both sorrow and shame in the remembrance of our terrors! But does the hope of booty prevent you from promising a universal peace? For my part, I fear that if we frowardly persist in war, we shall ourselves fall a prey to the Spaniards, like the Calchacuis, who were much more numerous than we, and, with your leave be it spoken, more warlike. Think on it again and again, lest, if you now refuse the friendship of the Spaniards, their enmity may prove fatal to our whole nation, and give you cause to repent when it is too late."

Ychoalay, after he had addressed the savage assembly nearly to this effect, perceiving that some of the more refractory were not yet persuaded to a universal peace, added these words. "It appears that I have hitherto been preaching to deaf ears. If reason does not convince

you, if the dangers of war do not terrify, nor the pleasures of peace allure you, at least let pity soften your hearts. Lo! crowds of Abipones and Mocobios, made captives by the Spaniards, are dragging out a life of slavery, bitterer than any death. Numbers united to us by the ties of blood, and ancient alliances, banished from their country, dispersed in miserable corners of cities and estates, subject to the power of others, and oppressed with labour, now mourn, and are consumed with grief. The liberty of so many wretches is in your hands, and may be purchased this very day, by your concession of a universal peace. Again and again, I entreat you to consider, whether it be most incumbent on you to show anger to your enemies, or pity to your friends. The courageousness of mind you have always evinced in arms, you should now render more illustrious by acccelerating peace."

This address had such an effect upon the savages, that suddenly adopting milder sentiments, they unanimously acquiesced in the advice of the orator. Peace was accorded to all the Christian colonies in Paraguay, with what perfect sincerity may be collected from the circumstance, that every Cacique had part of the land of the Spaniards committed to his custody, that he might prevent any of the

Abipones from doing injury or violence to any of the Spaniards. Debayakaikin was appointed to guard the city of Asumpcion; Kebachichi that of Corrientes; Alaykin, St. Iago; Ychamenr̃aikin, Sta. Fè; and Ychoalay, Cordoba.

This condition was annexed to the agreement; that the Abipones and Mocobios in captivity amongst the Spaniards should be sent home without a ransom, but that the Christian captives should pay a price for their liberty: and numbers did return to Cordoba, Asumpcion and Corrientes, though many of the Spanish, Negro, and Guarany captives had become so familiarized to the Abipones by long acquaintance, that fearing to lose the liberty they enjoyed amongst these people, even whilst in a state of servitude, they would on no account return to their own country. In the town of St. Jeronymo alone forty-seven of each sex remained voluntary captives, but, more intolerable than the savages themselves, they were a pest to the new colonies, a hindrance to religion, the torment of the Fathers, devisers of frauds and wickedness; in short, of such a character, that except baptism, which they received in their infancy, they retained nothing of Christianity. The same complaint might be made of the Abiponian captives who

returned from the Spaniards. Yet many Abipones and Mocobios, who had been civilized, and converted to the Catholic religion in their boyhood, would be induced by no entreaties to revisit their native land: but learnt a trade, and lived in the city, pleased with their condition, and much commended for honesty.

The annunciation of peace decided upon in this assembly was the more agreeable to the Spaniards, from being unexpected. You might have seen the whole province revive, and hold public rejoicings, but their joy was of short duration. For, some months after, Oaherkaikin, with a small band of his followers, afflicted the territories of Asumpcion with slaughter and rapine. Whilst the other Caciques either did not know of this incursion, or connived at it, Ychoalay, indignant at such perfidy, thought it incumbent upon him to avenge the injury done the Spaniards, and the disgrace reflected on the Abiponian name. He knew Oaherkaikin to have very few fellow-soldiers and companions. Full therefore of hope and of anger, he undertook a journey, with a small band of soldiers, for the purpose of putting him down. But just as they were on the point of battle, Ychoalay perceives that all Debayakaikin's soldiers had come to the assistance of Oaherkaikin. Retreat would have been dishonour-

Urged by the instant peril, two or three leapt upon one horse, some unarmed, others naked, and fled, with all speed, to the colony of St. Jeronymo. This expedition proved the origin of a twenty years' war between the Riikahés and Nakaiketergehes. I shall confine myself to a brief narration of the most important events: for were I to describe all the successive vicissitudes of this war, I should consume more ink, than there was blood spilt in the whole course of it. Let me now give you the portraits of Ychoalay and Oaherkaikin, the authors of the war.

CHAPTER XIV.

SOME THINGS WORTHY OF NOTE RESPECTING YCHOALAY AND OAHERKAIKIN.

OAHERKAIKIN, a Nakaiketergehe, and a tribesman of Debayakaikin, was of middling stature, lean, strong-boned, with a pale face, a stern countenance, small sunken eyes, and short hair shaven at intervals, like that of a monk; his limbs were all covered with large scars; his ears were bored to admit the knots of cow's horn which he wore by way of ear-rings; he seemed always either in the act of threatening, or absorbed in contemplation. He was a great lover of drinking-parties, a man of few words, though very affable to his followers; an implacable foe to the Spaniards; ever formidable, even when threatening nothing; wonderfully well-skilled in the use of the spear and other weapons, and in the arts of riding and swimming; extremely attached to the superstitions of the savages; a despiser of elegant clothing; and endowed with an intrepid and daring mind; but careless of his promises; given to falsehood and knavery; and well worthy of his name Oaherkaikin, which signifies a liar.

He was as crafty in eluding and repelling the enemy, as he was bold in attacking them. Having learnt, by means of his spies, that Nicolas Patron, Vice-Governor of the Corrientines, was approaching his horde with hostile intentions, accompanied by fifty horsemen, he would not await the arrival of the Spaniards, but went in person to meet them with a company of soldiers. Armed with a spear, arrows, and a military breastplate, and having his face blackened to make his appearance the more terrible, he stationed himself on foot, in a place where he had a wood at his back, and an unfordable river in front. On the approach of the Vice-Governor, he informed him, by means of a captive interpreter, that if he were inclined to fight, a corresponding desire was felt on his own part, and that the threats of the Spaniards excited laughter in him, instead of fear. The Vice-Governor, astonished at sight of the savage, and provoked at his insolent challenge, looked at his soldiers, and exclaimed, "Come, get ropes and catch this wild beast for me!" an order which struck consternation into the minds of the soldiers. "My Lord," replied a lieutenant of the name of Añasco, "if you are so desirous of taking this savage, do you try your own fortune, we have no objection to that; but, for our own parts, none of us have

either leisure or inclination to throw away our lives upon a joke." As great danger was to be apprehended in crossing the river, the opposite bank being occupied by the savages, they began immediately to think of retreat, and nothing was attempted against the enemy. Oaherkaikin at a distance pursued the Corrientines, and carried away that very night a drove of horses from the colony of St. Ferdinand. The Spaniards were not insensible to this injury, but digested it in silence, fearing to provoke these hornets afresh. You shall now hear some particulars respecting Ychoalay.

He enjoyed every thing but the name of Cacique. He was born of a most honourable family amongst the Riikahés, and nearly related to Debayakaikin, who taught him, when a boy, to sit a horse, and to manage it. He was exceedingly tall, with an oval face, an aquiline nose, and strength adequate to all of the fatigues of warfare; indeed, the whole conformation of his body was exactly expressive of, and suitable to a military man. On the strength of a peace, established between the Riikahés and the people of Sta. Fè, the youth Ychoalay visited that city, and served the Spaniards for hire, either as a breaker-in of horses, or a guard in the estates. At length he assumed the name of his master, Benavides, and by this name he

was afterwards known, when a leader of the Abipones, and an enemy to the Spaniards; though his own countrymen called him Oahari in his boyhood, and at a more advanced period of his life, Ychoalay. Though averse to the Christian religion, he was so desirous of an acquaintance with the Spanish language, that in order to be more sure of attaining it, he went from Sta. Fè to the kingdom of Chili, whither a Spaniard was returning with a number of waggons; this man he served on the journey as a driver, and afterwards as a cultivator of vines, at Mendoza. Ychoalay, ever mindful of his origin, constantly showed himself the soldier, never appearing out of doors without a spear, and manifesting courage superior to that of the rest. Hence, when his companions were robbed or murdered by the Charruas or Pampas, in the deserts of Paraguay, Ychoalay, repelling force by force, remained a survivor. Some years after, he returned from Mendoza to Sta. Fè, and on his masters' refusing to pay him his wages, became disgusted with the Spaniards. Anger was turned into rage, when he learnt from a Spaniard of Cordoba, that his life had been attempted by an inhabitant of Sta. Fè. Weary of his condition, and of the society of the Spaniards, he rejoined the Abipones, who were, at that time, harassing the territories of

Cordoba with daily inroads, and accompanied his countrymen in all their plundering excursions, displaying so much valour as caused him to be soon after promoted from a fellow-soldier to be a leader of others. Shrewd and active, he always executed with wonderful bravery, and equal good fortune, whatever he planned to the injury of the Spaniards. He had a great share in all the victories which I have related as being obtained over the Spaniards, and in all the dangers and slaughters inflicted upon them. Frequent and successful expeditions gained him so much celebrity, that he was as much honoured by his own people as feared by others.

It is worthy of remark, that, though he vented his fury for a long space of time on the other Spanish colonies, he always spared those of Sta. Fè, and likewise that he never touched the lives of men devoted to religion, or permitted his soldiers to do so. He never suffered female jugglers to remain within his horde; and that they might not remove to some other, he pierced them himself with a spear, lest they should deceive his people with their artifices, or disturb them with bad auguries. Long acquaintance with Ychoalay gave me opportunities of observing many things in his character that were worthy of praise, many that deserved

reprehension. He had such an immoderately high opinion of himself, that he could never endure to hear any of his countrymen extolled for valour. Extremely self-conceited and opinionated, he was very impatient of opposition. His restless and turbulent disposition induced him to plan methods whereby he might circumvent or vanquish Oaherkaikin, and others of his rivals, not from the hope of emolument, but from the desire of overthrowing the celebrity they had obtained. This caused him to be always sowing dissensions, and hunting out occasions of quarrels, which proved the source of numerous disturbances in the new town, and prevented it from ever enjoying a respite from its enemies. Though at other times mild and courteous, when scheming expeditions against his adversary, he deprived his dearest friends of his conversation. Amongst various coverings for the head, he had one little woollen cap of a yellow colour, and whenever he wore this I observed him to be stern and meditative, and carefully avoided his company. Joseph Brigniel was amused by this observation of mine, and became so convinced of its truth, by experience, that we used jokingly to call that little hat the prognostic of an approaching expedition against the enemy.

But these and other defects Ychoalay re-

deemed by shining virtues. None of us ever entertained the least doubt of his being the chief instrument of the peace established between the Abipones and all the Spaniards, and the founder and preserver of the colony of St. Jeronymo. He always religiously adhered to the friendship he had contracted with the Spaniards, and took great care to prevent any of the Abipones from violating it, often with the risk of his life. Whomsoever he understood to be guilty of a violation of the peace, against them, as against enemies, he thought it his duty to take up arms. This was an occasion of continual war with the Abipones Nakaiketergehés. Thousands of horses, which during many years he had retaken from their plunderers, he brought back to the Spanish colonies, and restored to their masters, and was displeased at being asked what compensation he required, saying, "Don't you know then that I am your friend? All I ask is not to be thought mercenary." By his zeal in preserving and recovering the property of the Spaniards, he incurred the hatred of all the savages; even his countrymen regarded him with execration as a friend of the Spaniards, and an enemy to themselves: whence his daily complaint: "My countrymen think me wicked now, because I am good; formerly they called me good, be-

cause I was wicked." Sometimes when he invited his fellow-hordesmen to join him in tilling the fields, or attacking the enemies of the town, on their delaying, or refusing to accompany him, under pretext of a want of proper horses, "Father," would he say to me, "you would have seen them follow me with the utmost alacrity, had I invited them to rob and murder the Spaniards. Not one would have remained with you in the town; not one would have made the scarcity of horses an objection."

It must be allowed that the progressive improvement of the town was, under God, chiefly to be attributed to the industry and authority of Ychoalay: for the chief Cacique Ychamenraikin, although illustrious for his high birth and warlike actions, and endeared to his people by the gentleness of his disposition, contributed nothing of consequence to the establishment of the colony. He presided over all, but was of service to no one, the mere shadow of a magistrate, the useless image of power. He was addicted to drinking, and practised polygamy and divorce. Yet all bore him great good-will, because he connived at the vices of his hordesmen. The love of Christian knowledge had no place in his breast, nor did he ever enter public religious assemblies, or endeavour to make others do so. During his lifetime, no

man would ever receive baptism, till on the point of death: when he died, no man refused it, which was brought about by the labours of Ychoalay, who, though not possessed of the chief command, managed all the affairs of the town by his own authority. He obliged others to attend the church, in order to learn the elements of religion, but for some time delayed entering it himself. After receiving daily admonitions on this subject from Joseph Brigniel, "Father," replied he, "permit me to think about slaying Oaherkaikin. My head is at present in a tumult with warlike cares. In time of peace I shall have leisure to attend to your religious discourses." After repeated excursions against Oaherkaikin, a truce being at length established, Brigniel reminded him of his promise, to which Ychoalay replied, "I must first make a fold for the security of the sheep in the estate, I will then become your disciple in the school of religion;" and he kept his word. A few days after, the Father, on entering the church, beheld Ychoalay kneeling on the ground and heard him praying, and making the responses. Thenceforward, no man was a more constant attender on places of worship, or displayed greater modesty and docility when there: and by his example they were daily crowded with pious hearers. He not only committed to memory

the regular Christian prayers, and every thing relating to religion, but repeated them aloud to his domestics in the evening.

When the Fathers had occasion to baptize persons languishing under a mortal disease, or the bite of a venomous snake, and if they died, to bury them in holy ground, according to the rites of the catholic church, Ychoalay alone was their defender and assistant. It would be difficult to enumerate all those who for baptism, sepulchral honours, and indeed heaven itself, are indebted to the labours of Ychoalay. By his desire, Ychamenraikin first, and then all the boys and girls were dedicated to Christ by baptism; for the more careful performance whereof, twenty alone were admitted on the same day to the sacred font. This, indeed, was effected more by the example than by the exhortations of Ychoalay, who had his children baptized as soon as they saw the light, and those which died he gave into the hands of the priest, to be buried with the Christian forms. You will wonder, I think, that one who was so careful of the salvation of others should have neglected his own, since it would commonly be thought that what was not eligible for himself could hardly be eligible for another.

Indeed we were all surprized that the virtuous Ychoalay should, for so many years, have

deferred his baptism, to receive which he had long been peculiarly fit. He lived for many years contented with one wife, never frequented drinking-parties, except to consult upon war, and was a bitter enemy to drunkenness and drunkards. Though formerly the prince of plunderers, he was now become a severe avenger of plunderings. He was as well acquainted with the ordinances of religion as with his own name. He shunned no labour conducive to his own advantage or that of the town, and was assiduous in cultivating land and breeding cattle. He might, therefore, have been initiated into the Roman Catholic religion long before, and indeed he frequently assured us of his intention to be so, as soon as ever his mind was free from anxiety respecting his rival Oaherkaikin. In fact, when the Vice-Governor Francisco de Vera Muxica was in the town of St. Jeronymo, he requested baptism of his own accord, but was desired by the same to wait a little, because he wished to perform the ceremony in the city of Sta. Fè, with great magnificence. Ychoalay, displeased at the delay, could not be induced to receive baptism till some years after, when it was administered to him by Father Joseph Lehman, in the abovementioned city; where the ceremony was performed with much pomp, and so large a con-

course of people that the church could hardly contain the multitude. The Royal Vice-Governor himself took the illustrious neophyte from the sacred font, and gave him a sumptuous feast, and suitable gifts. The Spaniards with joyous and tearful eyes beheld the celebrated Ychoalay standing by the divine altar like the meekest lamb, whom all Paraguay had formerly dreaded as a rapacious wolf.

CHAPTER XV.

FURTHER PRAISES OF YCHOALAY.

It appears from what I have related, how useful Ychoalay was to us in the dissemination of religion. It is incredible how anxious he was to preserve the safety of the town and of the Fathers. Any little injury committed or intended against the Fathers, by his people, he took to himself, and indeed avenged with more asperity than if it had been done to himself. Amongst a set of men addicted to strife and drunkenness, accustomed to slaughter from their boyhood, and madly attached to superstition, the lives of the Fathers must have been placed in a very precarious condition, had not his authority been a shield to them, and a bridle to the savages. If he perceived any danger impending from foreign foes, he would, even in the dead of the night, apprize the Fathers and his companions of it, that the common safety might be consulted on. He was always the first to explore the country, and to occupy the front of the army whenever force was to be opposed to force, often returning

home wounded whilst his companions remained unhurt. It happened that the Abipones who inhabited the town of Concepcion, entertaining suspicions of the Spaniards, suddenly deserted it all in one day, leaving in the place only three men who had it in charge to murder the two Fathers Joseph Sanchez and Lorenzo Casado, by treachery, as soon as night set in. Ychoalay, learning the flight of the Abipones, and the danger of the Fathers, flew to the spot with no other company than that of the horse he rode on. He fixed his spear at the door of the Fathers, and offered himself for their defender. About twilight he spied the three assassins lying in wait, alarmed and put them to flight, and never saw them afterwards. He advised that the furniture of the house and the church should be carried away in a waggon, and about two thousand oxen driven to the town of St. Jeronymo, and assigned them a place in his little estate where they might safely feed. The journey was full of danger and inconvenience. Continual rain had transformed the whole country into a marsh, so that it seemed impassable to a waggon. The river Malabrigo, and other lakes were tremendously swelled by the incessant rain. But by the advice and assistance of Ychoalay, all obstacles were overcome; every thing that Father Sanchez wished to

transport, conveyed to a place of safety; and the attempts of the runaway Abipones, who had hoped to seize every thing that the deserted town possessed, completely foiled. Martinez del Tineo, Governor of Tucuman, wrote a letter to Ychoalay, in which he commended his fidelity to the Fathers, and recompensed his services with a piece of beautiful scarlet cloth fit to be worn by any noble Spaniard. This cloth he devoted to the purpose of buying sheep, the wool of which he intended to have woven into garments such as the Abipones wear. To the persuasions of the Fathers that he would adopt the Spanish costume, Ychoalay replied, "Since I am an Indian, why should I feign myself a Spaniard in my dress? When those red garments are worn out, will you give me new ones in their place? That is not to be expected. Then, derided by every body, I shall be obliged to resume the garb of the Abipones. My people will say, he boasted himself a Spaniard whilst his Spanish dress lasted; now that is worn out he must return to our manner of clothing. I give you my word to dress like a Spaniard as soon as I get money enough from the wheat I am raising." And, on entering our church, he attired himself and his horse, like the more respectable orders of Spaniards. By his skill in agriculture and the

breeding of cattle, he earned enough to clothe himself and his people.

Ychoalay watched with anxious care not only to preserve the safety of the Fathers, but likewise to prevent the domestic utensils, and the cattle belonging to the town, from receiving any injury. On stated days of the week twenty or more oxen were killed, on the flesh of which the Abiponian inhabitants subsisted. Those of a more voracious appetite than the rest used secretly to kill oxen for themselves, and still oftener calves, to the great loss of the estate. Others took it into their heads to slay the sheep belonging to the estate, not for their flesh, but for their skins, which they throw over their shoulders like horse-cloths. Whenever Ychoalay caught any of these offenders, he punished them severely. To compensate for the loss, they were ordered to pay two horses for every ox they had slain, one for every sheep; and if they did not bring them of their own accord, Ychoalay took them away by force. A savage Mocobio, a stranger, had killed a cow belonging to Ychoalay, thinking it to be one of the cattle of the town. An Abipon who happened to come that way said to the Mocobio, "What! have you dared to kill a cow of Ychoalay's? Woe be to you if he hears of it!" The Mocobio, alarmed at the news, laid the limbs of the cow upon his

horse, and went straight to the house of Ychoalay. "This," says he, "is the flesh of your cow which I killed by mistake, thinking it belonged to the town." "Fool," replied Ychoalay in a rage, "do you think then, that you may slay the herds of the colony with impunity? The excuse by which you endeavour to extenuate the criminality of the deed, serves only to its aggravation. But now begone, and since you have given yourself the trouble of killing and flaying the beast, take upon you that of devouring it also." So that, though severe in avenging mischief done to the property of the town, he was lenient towards those who offended himself.

The Abipones, like almost all the Americans, dreading the most distant idea of slavery, will scarcely perform the smallest service, unless quite sure of a compensation. Whenever you require anything of them, *Mieka enegèn labevè?* what will you give me? they eagerly reply. They quietly looked on, whilst we were saddling our horses, or cutting down wood, and though they would not move a finger to our assistance, employed their tongues lavishly in our praise. "Bless me, Father! how well you equip your horse! How dexterous, and strong you are!" they exclaimed, though we should have preferred their assistance to their enco-

miums. Ychoalay, unlike the rest in this respect, was extremely ready to perform all sorts of good offices. He served the Fathers not with fine words, but with good deeds, as I had good reason to know, having taken many long journeys with him through incommodious wilds, when he fulfilled the part of a most diligent servant. Though many Abipones of inferior rank accompanied us, whenever we had to pass the night, or the mid-day in the plain, he charged himself with seeking fuel, bearing water, and taking care of the horses, and used always to procure me a safe passage over rivers and marshes. He not only harnessed my horse for me, but prudently pointed out that which was fittest for the journey we were going to enter upon. In travelling he always remained close by my side, kept a strict watch on all sides, and if he discovered any danger, acquainted me with it, and cautiously avoided it.

The other Fathers, too, openly professed their obligations to this excellent man. The founding and preserving of the town of St. Jeronymo is chiefly to be attributed to him. Except three little huts, hastily constructed by the Spaniards, every thing was done under the direction, and by the labour of Ychoalay, particularly when it was removed to the southern shore. It was necessary to erect a little build-

ing for the performance of divine service, a dwelling-house for the Fathers, some cottages for the shepherds, and large folds for the cattle. There was likewise occasion to fortify the court-yard of our house with stakes, that in sudden incursions of the savages it might afford a defence to the women and children; huts were also to be constructed for the Abipones, who, till then, had sheltered themselves under mats. For these purposes many thousands of trees must be cut down, carried home, and worked upon. Ychoalay was the life of the labour and the labourers. He was always the first to take up the axe, the last to lay it down, instigating the Abipones to diligence more by example than by precept.

The Fathers, as a mark of their gratitude, presented the industrious Ychoalay with a hat adorned with broad silver fringe, which, that he might not appear to slight their kindness, he accepted, at the same time however expressing himself careless of elegancies of that kind. He had scarcely worn the hat twice in the street, when some Abipon requested and obtained it. Ychoalay would freely bestow beautiful woollen garments of many colours, fresh from his wife's loom, on any one who asked for them. By this liberality he wrought so much, that all were ready to lend him their assistance whenever he

stood in need of it, either in shearing sheep, or ploughing fields in his estate, whither a vast number of persons of both sexes flocked every year to assist Ychoalay. The wages of the labourers consisted of nothing more than their board, and gratuitous largesses during the year. Though he gave those who laboured for him plenty to eat, yet economy was not forgotten. He sent the more agile Abipones to the shores of the Parana, to hunt deer, on the flesh of which, and on that of oxen, he fed those who were employed in labouring in the fields. Out of his own herds he used to slay the males only, wisely sparing the mothers to increase the stock. "The Indians," said he, "are eager to devour the cows, never considering that bulls don't bring forth young. If the Spaniards had always fed upon cows, we should, long since, have been destitute both of cows and bulls."

In other things also, he evinced his superiority over the rest of the Indians. The herb of Paraguay, which is in common use amongst all ranks in Paraguay, he drank when it was offered him, but never requested it of us. He prudently feared, that if, by a too frequent use, he accustomed himself to this costly beverage, he should some time or other be obliged either to beg or buy it. We dealt out a portion of this herb every day to the Abipones who were employed

with the axe or the plough, but Ychoalay advised them to make no use of it. "Accustomed as you are from childhood," said he, "to cold water, why can you not refrain from this hot drink? Unless you practise this abstinence, habit will become a second nature, and make you unable to do without it. The Fathers will supply you with the herb whilst you are ploughing; but when you cease from that employment they will deny it, because they are obliged to purchase it at a high price. Abstain, therefore, whilst you have it, and you will never be distressed by the want of it."

It is the custom of the Abipones and Mocobios to weary the Fathers with perpetual and importunate requests. We took a pleasure in gratifying them to the utmost of our power, but they frequently asked for things which we had not to give, and which you could not find in any warehouse at Amsterdam. Ychoalay, though desired to acquaint us with whatever he stood in need of, could never be induced to ask us any favour. Though the fame of his warlike prowess was so great as almost to excite envy, he would never accept of the honours of a captain, nor suffer himself to be enrolled amongst the Hëëcheri, and always used the dialect of the common people: and though his numerous military achievements entitled him often to

change his name, he always retained his primitive one of Ychoalay. So great was his dislike of ostentation in apparel and horse-trappings, that he scorned to keep company with some youths, who gave themselves proud airs, and fed daintily. Conscious of his own merits, he had, undeniably, a very high opinion of himself, yet he detested flattery, and never boasted of any thing but of being no braggadocio. He could not bear that his rivals Oaherkaikin and Debayakaikin should be preferred to himself: yet when informed of any brave action performed by one of his own nation in battle, he would overflow in his praise. You will learn many things reflecting honour on the noble Ychoalay, in my relation of the vicissitudes of the furious war between the Riikahés and Nakaiketergehés.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCERNING THE HOSTILE INCURSION ATTEMPTED BY DEBAYAKAIKIN AND HIS SAVAGE CONFEDERATES AGAINST THE TOWN OF ST. JERONYMO.

DEBAYAKAIKIN, the head of the Nakaiketergehés, provoked, as was related, to a skirmish by Ychoalay, threatened the new colony of St. Jeronymo with destruction, and its inhabitants the Riikakés with a universal massacre. He associated with himself, in this expedition, the Mocobios and Tobas, who dwelt towards the north; and by great promises of booty, induced the Vilelas to enter into a warlike alliance with him, and furnished them with horses capable of undertaking a long journey. Ychoalay could neither be ignorant, nor careless of the intentions, strength, and preparations of the enemy. To provide therefore for the safety of his people, he sends a troop of Mocobios to guard the town, and hastens to the Governor of Sta. Fè to ask for supplies, which were justly owed by the right of friendship and of promises; nevertheless he obtained nothing but words and excuses; for at that time most of the soldiers of the city were employed across the Parana, against the

Charruas, savages whom they had reduced to subjection.

Whilst Ychoalay was vainly seeking assistance in every quarter, Debayakaikin conducted his forces with all possible secrecy towards the south, but did not precipitate his assault on the colony, choosing rather to make use of craft. He sent forward some of his people with a commission to spread a report, that Debayakaikin did not intend attempting any thing against the colony of St. Jeronymo, but that the savage Mocobios purposed an immediate assault on the town of Concepcion, which was ten leagues distant from that of Jeronymo, and inhabited by the Abipones under the authority of Alaykin. Debayakaikin had two reasons for spreading these fictitious reports. The first was, that, as soon as the inhabitants of St. Jeronymo understood themselves to be out of danger of an attack, the Christian Mocobios, who acted as guards, would be sent back to their town of St. Xavier. The other was, that the Abipones of the town of Concepcion, whilst in hourly expectation of a hostile attack at home, would not be able even to think of succouring the inhabitants of St. Jeronymo against Debayakaikin. In both points the stratagem succeeded entirely to his wish. It is worth while to give a relation of the whole event, of which I myself was a spectator.

The colony of St. Jeronymo had scarcely more than a thousand head of kine remaining, the bulls being almost all consumed; and of this number the greatest part of the cows were either with young, or engaged in giving suck, to spare which the Fathers requested my companion and myself, then residing in the town of Concepcion, to send them two hundred bullocks for the support of the Indians, dispatching Raphael de los Rios, the guard of their estate, to carry the beasts away. That this business might be properly conducted, I resolved to accompany the guards of the cattle myself. When everything was in readiness for the journey, I observed the Abipones running up and down the streets armed with arrows, and heard one of them charge my companion Sanchez, in the name of Alaykin, to have his musket in readiness, as their enemies the Mocobios were expected about evening. The road I was going being that which would be taken by the Mocobios, my companion endeavoured to persuade me to defer my journey, but could not succeed with one who despised these vague reports, as they proved to be, for we did not meet so much as the enemy's shadow the whole morning. On entering St. Jeronymo I spied Fathers Francisco Navalon and Joseph Klein: Joseph Brigniel and Ychealay were at that time absent, being

still intent upon procuring subsidies in the city of Sta. Fè. The next day, which was Sunday, at Father Navalon's urgent request, the Caciques of the Abipones and Mocobios deliberated on what was best to be done. The presence of the Mocobios contributed much towards the safety of the town; but as those guards daily consumed a great quantity of beef, tobacco, salt, and the herb of Paraguay, they were deemed ruinous to the public stores; their dismission seemed proper on this account likewise, that according to report, the town had nothing to fear for the present from Debayakaikin; who however was concealed with his forces in a neighbouring wood, awaiting nothing but the departure of the Mocobios, to begin the assault.

The Mocobios departing early the next morning, which was Sunday, Debayakaikin divided his forces into three companies, and sallied from his hiding-place by three different ways, in the very sight of the town. Its guard, Raphael de los Rios, who happened to be at that time reposing in his hut, was pierced with many and deep wounds by an Abipon, whose father had fallen in the skirmish between Ychoalay and Oaherkaikin. At the same time, part of the Guaranies who guarded the cattle were taken captive, whilst the rest, who were on

horseback, saved themselves by speedy flight. The herds, which were assembled in one place, as usual in the evening, and about two thousand horses, became the uncontested prey of the enemy. When these tidings were learnt from trusty messengers, and the concourse of enemies was beheld on the opposite shore, a great trepidation seized upon the whole town. Of the Abipones, most of whom, either through ignorance or apprehension of the ensuing attack, had gone out to hunt wild horses, a few days before, there remained at home no more than eighty, who, whilst Debayakaikin was committing these ravages in the estate, were engaged in a merry carouse with their Cacique Ychamenraikin; but on receiving information of the near approach of the enemy, though in a state of intoxication, they all blackened their faces, and flew on the swiftest horses, and amidst the deadly clangor of trumpets, to the bank of the river, not so much with the intention of fighting the enemy, as of preventing them from crossing the river. Debayakaikin, whom long experience in war had rendered exceedingly cautious, thought it unsafe to send his men across to the opposite shore, which the enemies had got possession of, and to hazard a doubtful contest. It was treated of by legates, and resolved by mutual consent, that

the battle should be deferred till the morrow, as the sun was hastening to set, and little of the day remained.

On the approach of night, our heroes returned, and slept themselves sober in their own tents. As they did not place any great reliance on the promises of the enemy, horsemen were sent to watch throughout the whole plain, who by the uninterrupted sound of horns and trumpets testified their vigilance, and if they observed any thing hostile, announced it to the rest. The warlike sounds of the savages were accompanied by an incessant noise in the heavens: for the weather, during the whole of the night, was extremely tempestuous, with loud thunder, stormy wind, lightning, and heavy rain. The women and children passed the night in the open air, in our court-yard, which was exposed to the wet on every side; so that in the light dispensed by the flashes of lightning, they appeared to me like so many frogs swimming in a pond. In my hut they deposited their pots, gourds, pitchers, and other moveables, to save them from the depredations of the enemy. Inexpressible was my horror at beholding amongst the baggage of the old women, some skulls of Spaniards, formerly slain by the Abipones, preserved as trophies. I do not remember ever having passed a more tu-

multuous night, during my whole residence in America. I accused the sun of returning too slowly. About day-break, when the tempest was abated, though the lightning had not yet ceased, I ran to the market-place, where I saw a number of Abipones, assembling at the end of the town, which they considered a fit place for the ensuing combat. The army was arranged by Ychamenraikin in such a manner, that the spearmen occupied each side, the archers the centre; and all were on foot. A troop of horse commanded by Ychohake, Ychoalay's brother, had it in charge, to learn and instantly report the motions of the enemy, the ways they took, and every thing else concerning them. They stood in battle-array till noon, when the emissaries, returning from the country, announced that nothing but the footsteps of the enemy were to be seen. All hope, or rather fear of an engagement being at an end, they returned home, and the army was dissolved without the loss of a drop of blood. The enemy being gone, the dead body of the Spaniard which had been wounded in such a manner, that the bowels fell out, was brought from the estate, and conveyed to the grave with the Christian forms of burial.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONCERNING REPEATED EXPEDITIONS UNDERTAKEN BY YCHOALAY AGAINST OAHERKAIKIN, AND THE OTHER ABIPONES NAKAIKETERGEHES.

YCHOALAY, on returning from Sta. Fè, was highly incensed when he heard of the events that had taken place in his absence, and bitterly reproached his countrymen for their want of diligence in watching the enemy whilst they were approaching, and of energy in repelling them, when present. He continually revolved in his mind the injury done to his town by Debayakaikin, and not being able to digest it, appointed a new excursion against him. Hastening therefore to the city of Sta. Fè, he requested soldiers to attend him on the purposed expedition, but obtained only thirty, which the Royal Vice-Governor was chiefly actuated to grant by the consideration, that the death of the Spaniard slain by Debayakaikin's soldiers ought to be revenged by the arms of Spaniards. The soldiers sent on the Vice-Governor's account, however, little interested about the success of the expedition, wished to remain as guards in the town of St. Jeronymo, whilst Ychoalay

went with his people against the enemy: but on his sternly declaring that guards for the Abiponian women in the absence of their husbands were neither necessary, nor even endurable, they at last began the journey with the other company of Abipones. But, alas! how short a one did it prove! The ways had been rendered impassable by the spreading inundations of so many rivers, and the whole country was flooded to such a degree, that not a turf appeared on which the horsemen might lie down, or their horses take pasture. All hope of further progress being at a stop, they were obliged to return to the town, and thus an expedition undertaken with so much noise, was terminated in three days, without any advantageous result. Ychoalay, though naturally of an iron constitution, was seized, on his return home, with a burning fever, and a kind of small-pox, called by the Spaniards *Las viruelas bobas*. Without waiting for his complete recovery, he set off, with a small troop, against Oaherkaikin, by whom he was wounded, in a bloody skirmish, with two arrows, as I have related in a former part of this work.

The wounds that had been inflicted, though now healed, exasperated Ychoalay's mind, and stimulated him to a fresh excursion against Oaherkaikin. Not only all the Abipones of

the towns of St. Jeronymo, and Concepcion, but numbers of Christian Mocobios followed Ychoalay. They penetrated to the enemies' stations and fought long and desperately. Debayakaikin himself was dangerously wounded in the side with a spear, and would have been slain by Ychoalay had not some one else thrown himself before him. Although both armies had fought with equal success, and though victory inclined to neither side, yet Debayakaikin, alarmed at his wound, and the ferocity of those who had inflicted it, did not like to engage any more with Ychoalay, and sought how he might avoid the dangerous necessity of meeting him again in the field. He also began to entertain suspicions of his neighbours the northern Mocobios, ever since his colleague Kaapetraikin, with his two sons and three other Abipones, had been treacherously murdered by them whilst passing the night in the open plain. For the benefit of his affairs, therefore, he removed with his whole horde to the colony of St. Ferdinand, the residence of the Yaaukaniga Abipones, by means of whose friendship and the support of the Corrientine Spaniards, he trusted to enjoy tranquillity. But in avoiding Charybdis, he fell upon Scylla.

For Ychoalay, deeming this union with the Yaaukanigas a measure pursued with no peace-

ful intention, and far from conducive to the advantage of his own town, went thither with a great number of Abipones and Christian Mocobios, and denounced battle against his implacable foe, Debayakaikin. The provident care of the Fathers prevented them from coming to blows. They sent to Corrientes for the Vice-Governor Patron, who, though he came accompanied by a number of soldiers, was more desirous to perform the office of peace-maker, than to espouse the cause of either of the enemies. Things fell out according to his wish. Peace was established on the following conditions, which were dictated by Ychoalay; that Debayakaikin should restore the three spears which he had taken from Ychoalay in the first engagement, as well as the captives from the estate of St. Jeronymo; that he should not devise frauds against the colonies of the Spaniards, and the Indians in amity with them; and that he should remain quiet and harmless in the colony of St. Ferdinand, bearing it in mind that, if he departed to any other place, war would be renewed against him. Debayakaikin's present trepidation compelled him eagerly to embrace these conditions, which, however, he neglected at his pleasure, when free from fear. He was repeatedly attacked in the town itself, and robbed of all his

horses by the northern Mocobios, under pretext of some injuries they had received from him. His countrymen with their place of residence did not change their line of conduct, continuing still intent upon secretly plundering and slaughtering the Spaniards; which Debayakaikin foresaw would neither remain long concealed from Ychoalay, nor be tamely endured by him. In continual fear therefore of his enemies, the Mocobios in the north, and in the south of Ychoalay and his allies, who were still nearer to him, he removed with his people to the more distant town of Concepcion, then near the colonies of St. Iago: which, though contrary to the conditions of the peace, was digested in silence by the Abipones Riikahés, till fresh injuries, like a hostile trumpet, stirred them up to fresh rage, and fresh contests.

Some Abipones complained to Ychamenraikin, that as they were returning from hunting wild horses, they had been scourged and plundered by some of Debayakaikin's people. Moreover they announced that a very numerous horde of Nakaiketergehés had been discovered by them in the country between the cities of Sta. Fè and St. Iago. The Cacique pronounces this station dangerous to travelling Spaniards, and an infringement upon the peace established, and exclaims that he will set out the next day,

and discover these hostile Abipones. The Christian Mocobios are called upon, and within a few hours a company of almost three hundred men is assembled. After a few days' journey they discovered the hostile horde, but did not make a sudden attack upon it. Not to appear deficient in courtesy, they sent forward two heralds to desire the enemies, in a friendly manner, instantly to restore the horses they had unjustly carried off, and to ask pardon for the injury they had committed. The blast of trumpets, by which twenty men challenged three hundred to the fight, was their answer. From words they proceeded to blows. Ychamenraikin, the Commander in Chief, and the foremost in the foremost rank, was pierced by an arrow in the left eye, and instantly expired. Inconceivable was the fury that inflamed the minds of the soldiers, at sight of their dead leader. "Come on," was the universal cry: "let none of the enemy depart alive." Their hands answered to their tongues: for all the spearmen rushed at once upon the adverse army. In truth, twenty might thus have been destroyed with little difficulty by three hundred, had they not with incredible firmness opposed themselves as a wall to their adversaries. Though wounded all over, they still continued to oppose spears to spears, and weapons to weapons, not receding

a hair's breadth from the line of battle. The victors cut off the heads of those most renowned for valour, and carried them home as trophies. Two, who fell amongst the dead bodies and, being thought lifeless, had, the one an ear, the other a finger cut off by a Mocobio, appeared a a few months after alive, in the town of St. Ferdinand.

All the men being slain, the Mocobios, irritated by the death of their Cacique, took delight in venting their fury on the women, who had taken refuge in a neighbouring wood. Forty women and children were slain, and many taken captive; which cruelty, as it was exercised towards the defenceless, we all condemned in the strongest manner. Many of our Abipones and Mocobios were wounded, but none slain except Ychamenraikin. The bones of this Caciquê, after being stripped of the flesh, received the last obsequies, accompanied by the tears of the whole town, and by funeral rites, as has been related elsewhere.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF FRESH DISTURBANCES OF THE TOWN, ARISING FROM THE VICTORY GAINED BY THE INHABITANTS.

DEBAYAKAIKIN, upon hearing of this slaughter of his people, made no end of storming and threatening the victorious Riikahés. Not one of his fellow-hordesmen but raved with grief at some injury he had sustained from it: one mourned the death or captivity of a son; another of a husband; a third of a wife or brother. The life of Father Joseph Sanchez, priest of the town of Concepcion, was placed in extreme danger, as they declared their intention of revenging on every Spaniard, the slaughter they had suffered from the Abipones and Mocobios, the friends of the Spaniards. Had not Barreda restrained the enraged people, all the Nakaiketergehés would have instantly flown to devastate the colonies of St. Jeronymo and St. Xavier, whither Landriel was sent in the name of Barreda to require restitution of the captives. Ychoalay, respecting the wishes of the Vice-Governor, though not the threats of Debayakaikin, cheerfully assented to this demand, but

his example was not followed by the Mocobios; which irritated the savages, and made them resolve to extort by arms what the Spaniards could not obtain by prayers. We learnt from trusty messengers that the enemies would be at the town of St. Jeronymo in a few days. Thrown into the utmost consternation we requested the Mocobios to lend us supplies, which they refused, alleging the perilous state of their own town, and the necessity they were under of providing for the security of it. All hope of succour being thus denied us, whatever could contribute to our defence was wisely and diligently ordered by Ychoalay. Many watchmen were appointed each night, and scouts sent backwards and forwards. Debayakaikin, learning from his spies that we were in daily expectation of him, that his expedition might not terminate like the former one, thought proper to defer it for some weeks, and then fell suddenly upon us, when we were not expecting any thing hostile.

On the night after Whitsuntide, he and his forces crept into the plain adjoining the town, and employed themselves till morning in collecting droves of horses, and in wounding the oxen with spears. At break of day, as I was performing divine service, Pachieke and Zapan-

cha, who were sent by Debayakaikin to challenge the townsmen to join battle with him, arrived. Ychoalay replied, in the name of the rest, that they did not want courage to accept the challenge, but horses to convey them to the place appointed for the combat; which, as the enemy had themselves taken in the night, they might now make use of for the purpose of approaching the town, where he and his people would await them in battle-array. And, in fact, the Abipones, assembling from all quarters, soon formed an army, the front of which Ychoalay occupied on horseback. Whilst Ychoalay was sharpening the point of his lance on a whetstone in our court-yard, and greasing it with tallow that it might enter more readily into the flesh, I spoke to him about baptism, knowing that the weapons of all would be directed particularly at him, and endeavouring, at all events, to secure his salvation. But alas! I preached to deaf ears, so far was he from listening or attending to me, and so entirely engrossed by warlike affairs. From such mighty preparations for war, what could be expected but fields smoking with blood? Yet nothing but noise ensued; and the day passed entirely without slaughter: for about noon, as we were standing in form of battle, and expecting every moment

the attack of the enemies, Debayakaikin at length made answer by the mouth of a herald, that he did not judge it expedient to join battle in sight of the town, where, he doubted not, we had a supply of muskets; deterred by a groundless apprehension of which, he departed without attempting any thing further. After weathering so great a storm, we were surprized, about evening, by another, which was the more terrible from being unforeseen. Ychoalay suddenly interrupted me as I was conversing with Father Brigniel. "Ho! you Fathers," said he, with an unusually gloomy countenance, "my whole nation, weary of this colony, and of the friendship of the Spaniards, intend desertion—nor can I blame them. On account of the Spaniards, we have taken up arms against our countrymen and relations, and have combated them to this very day, with fortune, alas! how various! They have been our enemies ever since we professed ourselves the friends of the Spaniards and their firm defenders against Debayakaikin, Oaherkaikin, and their followers! How many droves of horses have they taken from us; how many wounds have they inflicted on us: how many deaths of our fellow-soldiers have they caused us to lament! The Spaniards were not ignorant of all this, yet they quietly looked on,

and never seriously thought of lending us the promised assistance. On this account it is that the minds of my comrades are suddenly alienated, and that they are preparing for flight. I advise you to write immediately to the Vice-Governor for soldiers, to conduct you safe back to the lands of the Spaniards, before the Indians, exasperated by the loss of horses they have this day suffered, have time to think of taking away your lives." We both promised to follow his advice, adding that he might feel assured the Vice-Governor would do all in his power to assist and console our Abipones. The truth of Ychoalay's representations was betrayed by the sullen and threatening eyes of the other Abipones, in which we plainly read their grief at so great a loss of horses, and their ill-will to the Spaniards. That night we wrote an account of the perilous state of our affairs to the Vice-Governor; but even Ychoalay had great difficulty in finding any one who would carry the letters, as the weather had been stormy for many days past. Indeed the journey seemed impracticable whilst all the roads were flooded with water. In the mean time it was greatly to be feared, that when intelligence was received of the Vice-Governor's determination, the Indians, enraged at an unsatisfactory reply, would turn their backs

on the colony, and after murdering the Jesuits, return to their former habits of plunder. Yet when affairs seemed desperate, an unhoped-for calm succeeded to this terrible storm. Providence clearly shone forth in the unexpected events which I am going to relate.

CHAPTER XIX.

YCHOALAY, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE SPANIARDS, TAKES A COMPANY OF HOSTILE ABIPONES, AND, ON ANOTHER OCCASION, FIGHTS SUCCESSFULLY WITH OAHERKAIKIN.

THE Charruas, a fierce equestrian nation, after being long formidable to travellers on the eastern bank of the Parana, were at length made captive, for the most part, by a troop of horse from Sta. Fè, and assembled in a colony founded in the plain Cajasta, where they were instructed in the divine law by a priest of the order of St. Francis. These savages, formerly so slothful, were impelled by hunger to make great exertions in cultivating land. But the plains adjacent to the town, being in great part marshy, scarce afforded a place where seed could be sown with any prospect of a harvest, and the hill occupied by the colony seemed too small for the number of inhabitants. On which account, some Charruas were sent by the priest to explore the remoter plains, and endeavour to find a better situation for the colony. On their return, they communicated their discovery of a very numerous horde of Abipones near La Laguna Blanca. The Vice-

Governor of Sta. Fè, when informed of this circumstance, judged habitations of hostile Abipones insufferable in a place where they had such a good opportunity of sallying forth to annoy the colonies of the Spaniards. He appointed a troop of his own horse to drive away that hostile horde, and wrote to us to request that Ychoalay, with his people and with the Mocobios, might join them.

The Vice-Governor's letter, which was delivered to us as we were at dinner, dispersed the cloud that overspread our minds, like a propitious star. Ychoalay got every thing in readiness the same evening, and set out the next day with a numerous company almost before sun-rise. There was not one amongst them all that did not follow him with a cheerful mind, not one that complained of want of horses. For although the enemy had taken great numbers of them but a very short time before, yet many, still lurking in the remoter pastures, escaped both their eyes and hands. Ychoalay rode on before the rest, and reached the plain specified by the Vice-Governor, where he found the Spanish horsemen on foot and fasting, their horses and oxen having left them in the night. Both were recovered by the sagacity of Ychoalay. Soon after, under the guidance of the Charruas, they hastened to the shores of La

Laguna Blanca, which, however, they found already deserted by the Abipones, and whither they had removed was difficult to conjecture. Ychoalay was commissioned by the Spaniards to seek the abode of the fugitives. All places being diligently examined under his direction, the enemy's stations were at length discovered, and at the same time so closely besieged, that all hope of flight or victory being precluded, they every one yielded to the conquerors. They were deprived of their arms, and brought like captives to the town of St. Jeronymo, with a crowd of women and boys.

The event of this expedition exasperated the minds of all the Nakaiketergehé Abipones, as much as it elated those of our nation; and proved a stimulus to the enemies to pursue the war with still more pertinacity. That three of the most formidable of the captives, Zapancha and Pachieke, and a brother-in-law of Alaykin, whose face dwells in my memory, though not his name, were kept in chains in the port of Monte-Video, was what the Nakaiketergehés could never digest, and what they embraced every opportunity to avenge. A few months after, to omit other instances, seven inhabitants of St. Jeronymo were treacherously slain, whilst travelling, by the tribesmen of Oaherkaikin. Ychoalay, thinking these atrocities no

longer to be endured, led a hundred and twenty-five Riikahés against Oaherkaikin, whose encampments were then forty leagues north of the town.

I, who was then removed to the town of St. Ferdinand, through which Ychoalay was to pass with his troop, had a good deal of trouble and anxiety on account of this expedition, fearing that our Yaaukanigas, who had long been hostile to Ychoalay, would take part with Oaherkaikin, and involve our town in the troubles of war. The day before Ychoalay and his company arrived, a scout of his, who had been sent forward to explore the roads taken by the enemy, and their places of concealment, came to me in the early part of the night. In the space of an hour he was followed by a second, and then by a third. The two latter returned at night to relate to Ychoalay what they had seen and heard, but the first, who was called Rochus Chiruilin, passed the night in my house.

The same day at noon, Ychoalay and his people arrived, in such an orderly band, with so much silence, and such decent habiliments, that I should have taken them for a troop of Spaniards. They were all furnished with iron spears, with hats, and Spanish saddles. A hill which slopes towards the town was the place where they chose to encamp. They were de-

fended against sudden assaults by a wood behind, and by a ditch on each side, and had a full view of the plain beneath, where their horses were feeding, so that if any treacherous attack were meditated it would be immediately perceived. They passed the night in the open air, placed in a row describing the form of a semicircle, as that figure contributes much to the mutual defence of a few against many. When lying down they make use of saddles instead of a pillow, and the housings of their horses serve them for a mattress. Every one has his spear fixed in the ground close at hand. Four or six feed their fire, which is kept up to give light in the night; whilst others, who are appointed to keep watch for the security of the sleepers, and of the horses, traverse the plain on horseback, and if they observe any thing alarming or unusual, give notice of it to those who are reposing, by horns and trumpets.

There was not one of the Abiponian guests who did not run to my house to ask me how I did; for, having lived two years in the town of St. Jeronymo, I knew and loved them all. Ychoalay, by reason of our old intimacy, conversed with me in a friendly manner for some hours every day. All my anxiety and my arguments were directed towards persuading him to baptism. I expatiated on the perils to

which he was going to expose his life. But he, confiding in the number and fidelity of his fellow-soldiers, would not allow that he stood in any danger, and owned himself too much engaged in warlike cares to be in a fit state for pious thoughts of that kind. I was also anxious on another account. I knew that my Yaaukanigas were inimical to Ychoalay, but amicably inclined towards their neighbour Oaherkaikin, and feared that they would assist the one against the other. But I advised them not to take part with either, if they wished to consult their own interest. I united threats with entreaties to deter them from attempting any thing against Ychoalay, who, though he did not stand in need of their assistance himself, would, I was well aware, be greatly incensed at their lending any to Oaherkaikin. This I repeatedly declared to the chief men of the town, and at length, forgetting their old grudge, they suffered themselves to be persuaded. Some of the younger went to be close spectators of the fight, but they carried no weapons.

In the mean time, Oaherkaikin, being at length informed of Ychoalay's journey, informed him, by means of a messenger, of his present place of abode, whither, he said, Ychoalay might come, and welcome; that he himself had never bestowed a thought on flight or terror;

and that his soldiers were few, but such that every one of them seemed to him capable of slaying many. The day before Ychoalay left us, his chief emissary Hapaleolin intercepted Kepakainkin, a tribesman and brother-in-law of Oaherkaikin. As his wife was a Nakaiketergehe, whilst his brothers dwelt amongst the Riikahés, he sometimes joined one tribe, sometimes the other, and, on this very account, incurred the hatred of both. Fearing the arrival of Ychoalay, he withdrew from Oaherkaikin's horde, which was shortly to be attacked, under pretext of watching the motions of the enemy; but in reality with a treacherous design, which he put in execution, of meeting with the Riikahés, and conducting them to the horde of Oaherkaikin: however, he was only a spectator of the fight, and afterwards deserted Oaherkaikin's town, and betook himself to that of St. Jeronymo.

The horde of Oaherkaikin was a few leagues distant from the town of St. Ferdinand, nor did it contain more than twenty men able to bear arms, the rest being at that time employed in harassing the colonies of the Spaniards. But the small number of those who resisted were defended against all assaults by the natural situation of the place. Behind, and on each side, they had a wood, and in front a marshy field,

which rendered access difficult, and fighting dangerous to the enemy. Ychoalay, with his usual intrepidity, left his horse, and struggled through the deep mud, till he arrived near enough to reach the enemy with arrows. The younger part alone followed their leader: for the rest, despairing of a victory amongst so many straits, marshes, and woods, from their horses, as from an orchestra, beheld their companions bravely fighting at a distance. The desertion of the old men, however, increased the boldness of the young ones, and more furiously inflamed their anger against the enemy. Oaherkaikin received three deep gashes, and his brother was dangerously wounded in the throat by an arrow. Of the rest scarce one departed from the field of battle without a severe wound. Though streaming with blood, not one of them seemed to remove his foot from his standing place, or his hand from the bow; which was extremely honourable both to the conquered and to the conquerors. Ychoalay, who remained unhurt amid this storm of arrows, had only three of his people wounded, and those had previously received baptism. On their return to the town, I examined and dressed their wounds. Hapaleolin was pierced by an arrow in the side, and a Spaniard, named Lorenzo, one of the voluntary captives of the Abipones, in the arm. Ro-

chus Chiruilin had the tendon of his great toe hurt by an arrow, and remained seven weeks in my house till I had completely healed him. Whilst the battle was yet raging, some followers of Oaherkaikin arrived from the estates of Sta. Fè, whence, after slaughtering the Spaniards, they brought many hundreds of horses, all of which Ychoalay took, and restored to their owners; besides these, a multitude of horses, which Oaherkaikin had in the neighbouring pastures, also fell into his hands.

These events having taken place in the absence of the curate, Father Joseph Klein, I sent both for him and the Vice-Governor of Corrientes, fearing the doubtful event of Ychoalay's expedition, and the disturbances which would, in all probability, ensue in our colony. He came on the evening of the next day with my companion, accompanied by ten Spanish horsemen, and, in a friendly manner, saluted Ychoalay, who returned from the skirmish a short time after, and who, at first sight, requested the Vice-Governor, Nicolas Patron, that those ten horsemen, who were all excellently armed with muskets, might be added to his Abipones, as he purposed returning immediately to destroy Oaherkaikin, the implacable enemy of the Spanish nation. But the Vice-Governor

disapproved of his intention, and endeavoured to dissuade him from it. He said that to join battle with the wounded, appeared to him repugnant to humanity, and that however advantageous such a victory might be, it would be entirely devoid of glory. After many arguments on both sides of the question, Ychoalay at length yielded to the Vice-Governor's suggestion, that if Oaherkaikin preferred peace to war, he should enter this colony, refrain from slaughter and rapine, and promise peace and friendship to all the colonies of the Christians; but on his refusing these conditions, should be given to understand that Ychoalay would instantly return to meet him in the field of battle. These things were announced to him by a Yaaukaniga horseman, by whom he replied, that the proposed conditions met his approbation; that, at present, neither himself nor his wounded companions had strength or horses sufficient to undertake the journey; but that when their wounds were thoroughly healed, he, with his companions, wives, and children, would remove to our colony. Oaherkaikin kept his word: for when Ychoalay had gone back to his own people, he and his numerous family, before their wounds were even scarred over, came to the town of St. Ferdinand. This observance of the promised peace, however,

did not outlast the fear which had induced it; when released from that, he changed both his mind and his place of residence, continuing ever a plunderer, ever the chief of the Abiponian plunderers.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WHOLE NATION OF ABIPONES ARE ASSEMBLED IN THREE COLONIES, BUT ARE AGAIN UNLUCKILY DISTURBED BY A WAR OF THE SPANIARDS AGAINST THE GUARANIES.

On Oaherkaikin's entering the colony of St. Ferdinand, we beheld with joy what the Spaniards of Paraguay had been vainly desiring ever since the time of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. The whole nation of Abipones were at length settled in three colonies; an event which seemed to promise great advantage both to the cause of religion and that of the whole province. But, alas! a sudden storm from Europe destroyed all these flourishing hopes. The kings of Spain and Portugal agreed upon an exchange of their territories in America, in consequence of which those seven towns on the eastern shore of the Uruguay were to be delivered up to the Portugueze, and two-and-thirty thousand Christian Guaranies, who inhabited them, were ordered to remove to another place by Ferdinand the Sixth. The Guaranies, full of tender attachment to their country, could be induced by no arguments to believe

that such a removal had been enjoined them by the Catholic king. This cession of the towns to their enemies the Portugueze, they thought must have been imposed on them by way of punishment; though they were at a loss to imagine what crime they could have committed deserving such punishment, unless to have served God and the King were accounted such.

This universal doubt impressed on the minds of the Indians, respecting the royal order for their removal, was confirmed by a most impudent lie, invented by certain wicked knaves amongst the lower order of Spaniards; who assured the Indians that the removal enjoined in the King's name was a fabrication of the Jesuits, they having themselves sold those towns to the Portugueze, out of a thirst for gold. The Guaranies, possessed with this abominable suspicion, grew more and more deaf to the admonitions of the Jesuits, who, through respect to the King, were constantly urging their departure. The filial affection which they had always borne to the Fathers being destroyed, they began openly to reject the authority of others, and to manage every thing according to their own pleasure. What did not the Missionaries do to conquer their obstinacy, and to reduce them to obedience! What did they not endure! How often did they put themselves in danger of

death! With crowns of thorns on their heads, they made a mournful supplication in the streets, whilst a voice of thunder from the pulpit, interrupted with frequent tears, besought and exhorted the people assembled in the church to obey the royal mandate. Miserable lamentations or futile promises were all that could be extorted from them. Some, indeed, who were of a milder temper, departed, but, vanquished by the love of their native land, returned next day, and hardened themselves against the last extremities. At length, seeing that war would be made against them, they took up arms, and for some time stood out against the armed Portugueze, and the Spaniards who assisted them.

After various vicissitudes of war, which I have briefly touched upon in another place, these seven towns were ceded by the Spaniards, but not accepted by the Portugueze, because they had at length discovered that all that territory along the banks of the Uruguay was destitute of the supposed mines of gold and silver. About fourteen thousand Indian exiles were dispersed up and down the plains of the Uruguay; nearly as many crossed the river of that name, and settled in the different towns of the Parana, where, after quitting handsome freestone houses, they were thankful for the precarious subsistence afforded by the kindness of their countrymen,

and for cottages hastily built of straw. But Charles III., who was removed from the throne of Naples to that of Spain, cancelled the exchange of lands with the Portugueze agreed on by his late brother Ferdinand, and commanded that the landmarks placed in Paraguay should be pulled up, war declared on the Portugueze, and the Guarany exiles sent back to their towns, the administration of which was as usual to be intrusted to the Jesuits. But alas! what a mournful appearance did these towns, formerly so flourishing, present, after a three years' absence of their inhabitants! The churches were shorn of their splendor, the estates spoiled of their cattle. The walls and roofs of the houses were injured by the soldiers and the weather. Part of the buildings were reduced to ashes. The untilled fields began to be overspread with wood, and filled with tares. The whole neighbourhood was infested with snakes and tigers. It seemed as if the arts and industry of a whole century could hardly replace or make up for what had been destroyed in the last three years.

This terrible misfortune of the Guarany nation alarmed the minds of the Abipones, and estranged them from the Spaniards. With sorrowful eyes they beheld all the Spaniards able

to bear arms called out against the Guaranies. "If the Spaniards," said they, "are so desirous of war, why do they not turn their arms against the Guaycurùs, the Aucas, Chiriguanos, Yaapitalakas, and other hostile nations? Why do they persecute the Guaranies, their most faithful friends, who have done so much service to the king in the royal camps? Is the friendship of the Spaniards so versatile? Have they so short a memory as to forget the submission which the Guaranies have uniformly observed towards them?" Complaints and wonderings of this kind were daily felt and expressed by all. Nor was the affair confined to words alone. Many of them, either displeased by the severity of the Spaniards towards the Guaranies, or distrustful of their friendship, or tempted by the opportunity of pillaging, which the absence of the soldiers afforded, deserted their towns. Such were the deplorable effects of the war with the Guaranies.

On the same day that Nicolas Patron went out against the Guaranies with troops of Corrientine horse, Oaherkaikin and his companions, now freed from fear, bade adieu to the colony of St. Ferdinand, intending to live, as formerly, on rapine in the country. His example was followed by the inhabitants of other colonies.

They saw that, as the men were called out against the Guaranies, the towns and villages of the Spaniards were inhabited by women only, or persons incapable of fighting, and that they might overrun the defenceless estates at their pleasure. Making use of this excellent opportunity, they molested the colonies, not only of the Spaniards, but likewise of the Abipones, especially that of St. Jeronymo, to the utmost of their power. Ychoalay was deserted by many of his people, and on that account derided by his enemies, because he could no longer assist the Spaniards, or be assisted by them, they being engaged in the war with the Guaranies. His fidelity, however, and his courage, remained unaltered. He affronted the hostile storm on every side, with all the strength and arts that he was master of. An estate of his on the banks of the Malabrigo, rich in herds, flocks of sheep, and horses, but undefended by any guards, and inhabited by a few women only, was attacked by a company of Abipones, Mocobios, and Vilelas. No resistance being made, they drove away the cattle, took the women captive, and sent one old woman to tell Ychoalay that they had taken his cattle, and that if he was desirous of recovering them, he should come and give them battle at the Ychimaye, on the banks of

which they would await his arrival. The message delivered by the old woman served as a trumpet to Ychoalay. Spite of the weather, which was cold and rainy, he flew burning with rage to the appointed place, accompanied by a handful of his people. He beheld the multitude of enemies, attacked, and completely vanquished them. A good many of the enemy were slain, numbers wounded, and the rest put to flight; and indeed every body was of opinion, that not one would have escaped alive, had not Ychoalay, who was wounded with an arrow in the arm, allowed them horses to carry them home. After recovering the cattle, and the female captives of the town, Ychoalay returned, signalized with a severe wound, and an unexpected victory, leaving the enemies in such consternation, that they even neglected to carry off their dead. At another time Ychoalay, awakened by an alarming sound in the middle of the night, mounted a horse, and rode out to take a survey. He had scarcely gone thirty steps from his own door, when he saw two Toba spies, took them captive, and sent them, well-guarded, to the town of St. Xavier, where some Tobas, allies of the Mocobios, were dwelling. The absence of the Spanish soldiers rendered the Abipones, and other wandering savages, daily bolder and

more mischievous to the whole province: and their frequent excursions were the more injurious, because they who used, at other times, to repulse the enemies, were then fatigued with carrying on war against their friends the Guaranies.

CHAPTER XXI.

AN INEFFECTUAL EXPEDITION OF THE SPANIARDS AGAINST THE ABIPONES.

At length the Vice-Governors of Sta. Fè and St. Iago resolved upon attacking the Abipones, who had deserted the colonies, in their northern retreats, in order to chastise and restrain their intolerable licence in plundering. Francisco de Vera Muxica, with fifty horse of Sta. Fè, came to St. Jeronymo and joined Barreda, who, though accompanied by five troop of horse of St. Iago, admitted into his society the Abipones who inhabit the town of Concepcion, with the Caciques Malakin, Debayakaikin, and Ypirikin, as these persons were well acquainted with the ways, and the retreats where the savages are accustomed to conceal themselves. Having, in a few days, travelled more than thirty leagues northward, they reached a place famous for capibaris, but could not discover a trace of the hostile Abipones, who, betaking themselves to the well known recesses of the woods, lakes, and marshes, daily eluded the Spaniards. Seven armed Abipones showed

themselves on the border of a certain wood, defended by an unfordable river, and in mockery, challenged the Spaniards who passed by to fight. Ybarra, a brave master of the watch, ill enduring this jest, swam across the river with only five of his St. Iagans. But as the rest of his fellow-soldiers, whom he expected to follow him, either delayed or refused to do so, he quickly swam back again to the road, fearing, that as the sun was almost set, he should be overtaken by the shades of night, and by a multitude of savages lurking within the wood. At last despairing of a rencounter with the enemy, the Spaniards returned ingloriously home, with empty hands, and horses miserably fatigued. Some blamed Barreda for taking, as companions of his journey, the Caciques Malakin and Debayakaikin, whom, though apparently friends to the Spaniards, they thought to be treacherous in reality. More concerned for the safety of their countrymen, than for the success of the Spaniards, wherever they went, they sent secret intelligence of their approach to the wandering Abipones. That Debayakaikin was ill inclined towards the Spaniards, when he accompanied Barreda, may be inferred from this circumstance, that he shortly after quitted the town of Concepcion with the rest

of his companions, rejoined those who had gone before him to the North, and became openly inimical to the Spaniards. But there, as you will presently hear, he at the same time ceased to live and to be dreaded.

The last vain endeavour of the two Vice-Governors confirmed the Abipones in their old opinion, that they could never be subdued, whilst scattered up and down the country, and acknowledging no other authority than their own; and this confidence doubled their boldness in disturbing the province. The remembrance of those three Abipones, who were kept in chains in the fort of Monte-Video, was a bitter wound to the Nakaiketergehes, and one which they declared incurable except by a plentiful effusion of Spanish blood. To appease them, therefore, the Vice-Governors of Sta. Fè and St. Iago requested the Governor of Buenos-Ayres, to give liberty to those three captives, and restore them to their countrymen. The Vice-Governor complied. But what they had looked upon as a remedy to the disturbed province, proved, on the contrary, the torment and destruction of the Spaniards. The one whose name has slipped my memory, had died, long before, in fetters; and Zapancha, attempting flight, had thrown himself from a high

tower, and injured the spine of his back, so as to render him unfit for a journey. Pachieke, son of Alaykin, alone remaining, was permitted to return to his own country.

Incredible were the testimonies of joy with which he was received by his people. He revisited his wife in the town of St. Jeronymo, and, dissembling his furious thirst for vengeance on the Riikahés, the authors of his captivity, became apparently unmindful of his injuries, desirous of a better way of life, eager for quiet, in short, extremely unlike himself. But the fire concealed beneath the ashes at length broke out into flames. After much secret deliberation, he and his companions departed from the town of St. Jeronymo; and that his doing so might not be attributed to fear of any one, he chose that his flight should be accompanied by considerable rapine. Hastening towards the north, he renewed a fellowship with Debayakaikin, both in arms and place of abode. In the prime of his age, and of a handsome person, ready to engage in any bold enterprize, and extremely expert in plundering, he was soon surrounded by men of accordant years and purposes, who were disposed to follow him, and to distress, under his guidance, the colonies of the Spaniards. There was scarce a

corner of the province which they did not afflict with hostile incursions. The town of St. Jeronymo was what Pachieke aimed most to ravage and devastate; but the vigilance and activity of the inhabitants defeated almost all his endeavours.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CACIQUE DEBAYAKAIKIN SLAIN BY YCHOALAY IN BATTLE, AND HIS HEAD SUSPENDED FROM A GIBBET.

YCHOALAY, not content with the name of an excellent defender, undertook an excursion against Debayakaikin, the chief of the Abiponian plunderers. Rejecting the subsidiary troops of Spaniards and Mocobios, he only admitted into his company the bravest and most approvedly faithful of his own people. When after some days' journey he perceived that Debayakaikin's horde was near at hand, "Let us return," exclaimed he: "a panic which I cannot account for, has got possession of my mind. This unusual tremor portends something disastrous. Come, let us return." His companions, revering these words as if they had been spoken by an oracle, were just going to turn round, when "Holla!" cries another, "are you not ashamed to return home with empty hands? I know that the horses of Pachieke are pasturing undefended in a neighbouring field. What hinders us from carrying off the whole drove, to indemnify ourselves for those which he robbed us of on his depar-

ture?" This advice was approved of, and having possessed themselves of the booty, they prepared for their return. Pachieke, in the mean time, happening to ride that way, sees the plain void of horses, and quickly suspecting the truth of the matter, from the footsteps of the plundering Riikahés, flies to Debayakaikin, laments the loss of the horses, asks for assistance, and expresses great hopes of being able to pursue and chastise the enemy. Without delay, all the neighbouring Abipones, with their Cacique Debayakaikin, eagerly pursue Ychoalay, whom, having overtaken, they challenge to the fight. As usual, the whole of the infantry joined battle. Both sides fought furiously for some time, till victory declared in favour of the Riikahés: for Debayakaikin, the Hector of his people, was slain with a spear by Ychoalay; many of his followers received the same fate from those of his adversary, and indeed, according to common report, not one of the enemy would have escaped alive, had not the conqueror prevented his soldiers from slaying the rest, declaring that he thought no blame attached to the common herd of Indians, who had only taken up arms in obedience to their leader. Pachieke, flying with his people, more solicitous for his own preservation than for that of Debayakaikin, plainly manifested that his chief

courage was displayed against the unarmed and unprepared.

Ychoalay cut off the heads of Debayakaikin, and four of his most noble associates, and carried them home as trophies. Having entered the town, he ordered a gibbet to be erected in the market-place, and the five heads to be suspended from it. In the same place, surrounded by his troops, he harangued the multitude from his horse. "Behold," said he, pointing to the gibbet, "the chastisement of faith so often violated! Behold the trophy of our valour! Now feed your eyes with the spoils of hostile chiefs, who, for a length of time, have scarce permitted you to breathe, and on whose account, alas! we have endured so many sleepless nights, difficult journeys, and painful wounds. This ever various and uncertain warfare, this conflict of so many years' continuance, has at length been terminated to-day, when we, not even thinking of a battle, and to say the truth, retreating, have had a glorious victory thrust, as it were, upon our hands. Something must doubtless be attributed to fortune, but allow me to say, still more to our valour. The whole affair was conducted in such a way as gave me no reason to repent my choice of fellow-soldiers, nor you to be ashamed of the leader you fought under. He who has so long

been threatening your lives, having at length received his death-blow from this spear, can now no longer threaten or inspire terror. This is the head which once devised so many treacheries. Now insult the perfidious one; but lest the same fate attend any of you likewise, be ever regardful of your faith pledged to the Spaniards, and obedient to me who am so anxious for your welfare. I do not consider the vile remnant of our enemies of sufficient importance to be deserving of our fear. The most warlike are dead. The survivors are either cowards or runaways, and owe their present existence merely to having escaped our eyes and hands. The streams dry up when their spring is exhausted, and after the head of the snake has been cut off, the rest of the body, though it may move, is incapable of doing any mischief, and wastes away in a few hours. After the extinction of their leaders, whose heads you here behold, the inimical faction, either from despair of victory, or apprehension of utter ruin, will, by degrees, grow milder, and, laying aside all enmity, accept our friendship." Nearly to this effect, did Ychoalay, who, from a leader, had become an orator, hold forth, and attract to himself the eyes and ears of all; for no one doubted that his words answered to his deeds, and his tongue to his hands. Do not

imagine that I have composed this oration myself, and put it into the mouth of the savage. Many years' experience has proved to me that the Americans can discourse on subjects suited to their capacities, not only with prolixity, but with elegance, and embellish their assertions with metaphors, similes, and figures of speech. They are certainly much more copious and fluent in their language than the rustics of our country.

The four sons of Debayakaikin repaired at first to Ychoalay's horde, but quitted it soon after, and took to a wandering course of life. But neither of them, though sufficiently advanced in years, was thought worthy to succeed his father in the office of Cacique. The whole nation, divided into small parties, lived together under their own authority. Some followed Oaherkaikin, others Pachieke, but many chose for their leader Revachigi, a man of low birth, and few years, but in noble actions, and endowments of mind and body, superior to any veteran.

The Nakaiketergehes, though dispersed in various hordes, prosecuted the war against the Riikahés, with minds ever unanimous, and strength as far as possible united, the recent slaughter of Debayakaikin stimulating them to vengeance. Pachieke, pertinaciously hostile to

the Cordobans, was at length slain in an ambuscade in the country, and his death was a fresh occasion for hostile excursions against the Spaniards. It would be endless to relate the ever-varying successes of this war, by which the town of St. Jeronymo was terribly afflicted, the progress of religious and domestic affairs retarded, and the patience of the fathers wonderfully exercised. But though they had to contend, during twenty years, with scarcity, daily danger of their lives, and hostile machinations, they never thought for a moment of deserting the colony, and at last succeeded so far that they joyfully beheld more than eight hundred persons initiated into the rites of the Church of Rome, besides Ychoalay. If to these you add the infants or adults baptized by them, when dying of the small-pox, or other diseases, you will judge that they had no despicable fruits of their Apostolic labours.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ORIGIN AND COMMENCEMENT OF A COLONY OF ABIPONES, NAMED FROM THE CONCEPTION OF THE DIVINE MOTHER.

CHRISTOPHER Almaraz may be called the founder of this colony; he certainly was the occasion of its being founded. A Spaniard by descent, and born in the country of St. Iago, he was taken captive when a boy by the Abipones, amongst whom he was brought up, and became a savage in countenance, language, mind, and manners. None of the savages was more hostile to the Spaniards than Almaraz, so that he became famous for slaughters and plunderings, and was an Abipon in the eyes of the Abipones themselves, by whom he was not only naturalized, but honoured in an uncommon degree, by receiving in marriage a woman of noble family amongst them, who, after bearing him many children, was carried away to St. Iago, with the other captives taken by Barreda, in his assault. In the hope of recovering his wife, Almaraz entreated his Cacique, Alaykin, to request Barreda to grant a colony for his countrymen, declaring that this was the surest and

the only method of procuring the liberty of the captives. He offered his services as orator and ambassador in the negociation. This advice being approved by Alaykin, Almaraz set off unaccompanied and unarmed, and after travelling more than a hundred leagues, entered the town of St. Iago. The business succeeded to his wish, and Barreda assented with pleasure to his petition for a colony.

Supported by the assistance of the Governor of Tucuman, and by repeated conversations well acquainted with the inclinations of the Cacique Alaykin, he founded a colony on the eastern shore of the river Inespin, which is nine leagues distant from the Parana, sixty from the city of Sta. Fè, and a hundred and seventy from the land of St. Iago. The town was situated on a gentle acclivity. The climate was admirably temperate, neither parched with summer heats, nor starving with frost or cold winds. In the neighbourhood was a river, supplying wholesome water, a wide plain abounding in pasture, and woods which afforded fruit-trees, fire-wood, and timber for building. There was an incredible variety of wild animals fit for the chase. All kinds of palm-trees grew near at hand. In an immense plain, extending towards the south, you beheld many thousands of wandering

horses; and the marshes, lakes, and rivers abounded in otters and capibaris. The soil moreover was extremely fertile, and favourable to any kind of seed. These numerous advantages induced the Cacique Alaykin to choose that place for the site of the colony. His companions too, greatly approved of the situation, thinking that the more distant it was from the towns of the Spaniards, the better secured it must be from their attacks. Rivers frequently unfordable, immense swamps, marshes, and lakes many miles in extent, incredibly retard the journey from St. Iago to this colony.

By Barreda's orders some little chapels and cottages for the Fathers and the Cacique were hastily built by the soldiers of stakes plastered over with mud. The town was committed to the care of Fathers Joseph Sanchez, a Murcian, and Bartolome Araez, a Tucuman, who was succeeded, in a few months, by Lorenzo Casado, a native of Castile. The whole colony was governed by Alaykin, who had been made Cacique, not so much from the prerogative of birth, as from military merit. He was a man of good understanding, a gentle disposition, remarkable candour, and universal intrepidity; on which account he was equally dear to his own people and formidable to the Spaniards, whose colonies

he had for many years wearied with his inroads. Above all, the countries of Cordoba and St. Iago found him a destructive and implacable enemy. Though a frequent attendant at drinking-parties, his conduct was exemplary in this respect, that he always avoided the quarrels and altercations incident to drunkenness. During his whole life, he contented himself with one wife, by whom he had two daughters and as many sons, all remarkable for strength and comeliness. The eldest was the unfortunate Pachieke, whom I have lately spoken of. The Caciques Malakin, Ypirikin, Oaikin, and Zapancha, with their followers, soon after joined Alaykin, so that the new colony was wonderfully increased by the accession of so many families. These savages were attracted by the expectation of the clothes, presents, and beef, which was daily distributed gratis to all: and they were not deceived in their hopes, as the estate of this colony was managed with more care and liberality than that of any other. For besides those cattle which Barreda had collected from the opulent Spaniards, the Governor Martinez, with money from the royal treasury, purchased two thousand bulls out of Peru, and as many elsewhere, and sent them thither. This number was, in a few years, increased to twenty thou-

sand head of kine by the industry of Father Sanchez, though many thousands were consumed by the voracity of the Abipones.

The women returned from captivity amongst the Spaniards caused the Fathers a great deal of trouble. From long intercourse with the lower orders of Spaniards, with Negroes, and Mulattoes, they had contracted habits execrated even by the savages, and imbibed opinions sure to produce mischief to the inhabitants of the colony. Still imbittered by the remembrance of their servitude, they left no stone unturned to alienate the minds of their countrymen from the Spaniards and the priests; to prevent the young children and sick adults from receiving baptism; and to inspire the rest with a horror of the divine law, and a reverence for their ancient superstitions. To effect these purposes, they used to invent calumnies, spread reports of hostile intentions on the part of the Spaniards towards the Abipones, and advise flight from the colony, in which they sometimes succeeded, obtaining the more credit from the Abipones on account of their long residence with the Spaniards. The wife of Christopher Almaraz was, of all the female captives, by far the greatest plague to the colony, as she exceeded the rest in high birth, in the propensity to lying, and in

aversion to the Roman Catholic religion. After receiving some superficial religious instruction in the city of St. Iago, she was united to Almaraz in the church, and with proper ceremonies, but was divorced by him on entering the town of Concepcion, under pretext of her impiety, and his ignorance of the perpetuity of wedlock; her age, however, was his real objection, and when settled amongst his own countrymen he aspired to fresh nuptials with a Spanish girl. He obtained the permission of the bishop of Tucuman himself for this marriage, because it was proved, by convincing evidence, that his former Abiponian spouse was related to another woman whom he had married during his residence amongst the Abipones. Almaraz, now in possession of his wishes, exercised the art of medicine in his own country, with great profit and approbation,—I wish I could add, with equal benefit to his patients. Who would not laugh at the idea of the lower order of Spaniards, that whoever has dwelt for some time amongst the savages must necessarily have attained the knowledge of herbs and secret arts of healing, which Galen himself never dreamt of, though the whole of his residence amongst them may have been employed in slaying and scalping, and in drinking. I do not, however, deny

that some of them, when they returned to their own country, became useful to the Governors, by successfully performing the offices of scouts and guides. They likewise acted as interpreters when a parley was held with the savages.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FLIGHT OF THE ABIPONES FROM THE TOWN OF CONCEPCION AND THEIR RETURN TO IT.

THE new town prospered extremely in the beginning and enjoyed entire safety and tranquillity; but this deep calm was succeeded by a sudden storm, and dismal wreck. The Abipones learnt from no dubious report that the Spaniards had thoughts of removing the town, and placing it in a situation nearer to their own city. Accounting this purposed removal extremely perilous both to their lives and liberties, they began to deliberate on flight, the Fathers suspecting nothing of the matter. On the very day of their departure, Alaykin informed Father Sanchez that himself and his people were prepared for the journey, saying that he had a reason for his departure, which, however, he did not specify. He then demands a flock of two thousand sheep; which the Father, equally astonished and terrified at this unexpected news, was obliged to grant. They were all gone in a moment, leaving behind them only three of the most daring Abipones who had agreed to slay both the Fathers in the night, to

plunder the chapel, and carry away the household furniture. But, as I have elsewhere related, Ychoalay arriving the same day delivered the Fathers from that state of peril, and assisted them in conveying the sacred and domestic utensils to the town of St. Jeronymo. Father Casado, with the Spaniard who guarded the cattle, repaired to Sta. Fè, whence couriers were sent to Cordoba and St. Iago to announce the flight of Alaykin. Great terror was excited in both places by this news, no one doubting but that the savages would recommence their plunderings. On which account, that little brick fortress situated in El Tio (a plain so called between Cordoba and St. Iago) was erected in its present form, to repress all hostile invasions.

Joseph Sanchez, in the town of St. Jeronymo, eagerly awaited the arrival of Barreda, with a troop of St. Iagans, in the persuasion that on his receiving intelligence of Alaykin's flight he would come either to restore the fugitives to their colony, or pursue them with arms if they refused to return. Many days had passed, when, presaging the approach of soldiers from the smoke daily observed toward the city of Sta. Fè, he hastened on horseback to the deserted town, accompanied by an Indian Christian. On the way he was spied by some wandering

Abipones hidden within a wood, and destined by them to death when he arrived in the vacant town. As the fleas prevented him from getting any sleep in his former bed, he was obliged to lie down in the court-yard of the house. The Indian servant was his only companion: when they were both sound asleep three savages burst into the court-yard; one of them was aiming a deadly blow, with a spear, at the Father, when he suddenly awoke, snatched up a musket, and put the assailant and his two companions to flight. He then returned unhurt to the town of St. Jeronymo without having seen so much as the shadow of a horseman from St. Iago.

At the end of many weeks Barreda arrived with some companies of St. Iagan horse. Having pitched his camp in sight of the deserted colony, he sent Landriel with a very few companions to the horde of Alaykin. Arrived there, he proclaims a pardon, in the name of Barreda, for their desertion, on condition of their immediate return; he endeavours to persuade them that the reports concerning the removal of the colony were false and futile; and tells them that Barreda is coming laden with gifts to reward the obedient, but at the same time accompanied with a formidable number of soldiers. The Abipones, yielding to the eloquence of this benevolent man, laid aside their fears, and returned, in

company with Landriel, to their former abode. On their return they were not only cordially received, but liberally rewarded with the usual presents, by Barreda, whom you would have supposed either ignorant or unmindful of their late desertion. All good men admired his prudence in treating the savages, though culpable, with gentleness and kindness, like children, who, when in error, are more easily induced to amendment by toys than by threats or infliction of punishment.

Certainly Barreda is to be praised for abstaining from unseasonable rigour, but his bestowing so many caresses on the Abiponian chiefs, and promising more than he was able to perform, was perhaps worthy of censure. The Abipones, relying on this indulgence from the Spaniards, whom they imagined afraid of them, grew bolder in their attempts than before. Let one example serve for all the rest. Barreda, on his departure, left in the colony some bales of woollen cloth, to pay the Spaniards hired to guard the cattle. The Abipones, through the artifices of the female captives, were deceived into a belief that this cloth was intended for their own clothing, and threatened to kill the Father if he did not immediately give it up to them. As they passed the night in unusual noise and drinking, the Father was afraid that when

intoxicated they would execute their threat of taking away his life; and to avert this danger delivered up, next day, all the cloth in his house to the greedy and formidable savages. In a few days, at the command of the Provincial, I removed from St. Xavier to that colony, accompanied by fifteen hundred Mocobian horsemen. Great was my surprize to see a crowd of Abipones, almost all clothed in garments of the same colour, riding out to meet us; for they suspect all comers of hostile intentions, and imagine them treacherously inclined. I reached the court-yard of our house, surrounded and almost overwhelmed by this troop of Abiponian horsemen. Father Sanchez came out to meet me, and rushed into my embrace. His figure, dress, and appearance inspired me first with terror, and afterwards with pity. He wore a hat made of straw. His gown was dirty, worn, and of no colour. His beard was long, thick, and blacker than pitch. The affliction of his soul appeared in his countenance. "Were I a captive at Algiers, amongst the Moors," said he, "my life would be more tolerable than amongst these savages by whom you see me surrounded." Having entered his chamber, with the crowd of Abipones still at my side, I opened my packet to deliver the Bishop's letter to the Father, when they all thrust their hands into it, and not

only examined everything, but would have stolen any of my little matters that happened to please their fancies, had they not been restrained by respect for the by-standers. Shortly after, the whole market-place resounded with the clangor of war trumpets, the neighing of horses, and the shouting of women. On my inquiring the cause of this uproar, they replied that the savage Mocobios were at hand. At the same time the Heavens bellowing with thunder, and the approaching shades of night, increased our horror. "See!" said the Father to me, "amid what daily tumults our lives are passed: to these, whether you like it or no, you must be enured." A hut, built of stakes plastered over with mud, was given me for a habitation, straw or hay for a roof, wooden shutters for a window, a rough board without a lock for a door, a piece of wood scarcely planed for a table, a bull's hide suspended on four posts for a bed, and the grassy ground, all perforated by ants, for a floor. Immense gaps in the walls and roof afforded ready admission to wind, dust, rain, and sun, as well as to serpents, gnats, and toads. The decaying palms which supported the roof distressed my ears exceedingly with the hiss of gnawing worms, and my eyes with the yellow dust that fell from them both by day and night. Great pieces of plaster, often weighing thirty

pounds, broke all at once from the wall, and were more than enough to crush me had they touched any part of my body. What shall I say of my fare? Beef, either boiled or roasted, was my daily dinner and supper, and if to this some maize, or a melon were added, we thought we had fared sumptuously; for we had not yet time to cultivate our fields or garden, to which however, afterwards, we diligently applied ourselves. Bread was never even dreamt of. The river supplied us with our only beverage, and wine could seldom be obtained even for mass. This scarcity of all necessaries will not be attributed to our own improvidence when it is recollected that the city of St. Iago, where we had to procure everything, was a hundred and seventy leagues from our town, that of Sta. Fè sixty, and that we were often prevented from attempting the journey by the inconvenience and danger which marshes and wandering savages occasioned. Such was the face of affairs for two years in that town, which may be called my apprenticeship amongst the savages, and the trial of my patience.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE VICISSITUDES AND DISTURBANCES OF THE COLONY

To civilize the savages, and teach them the ordinances of the holy religion, this was the one thing which we had most at heart, and towards this all our cares and labours were directed. Yet had we often to complain of the fruitlessness of our endeavours. The Abipones, whose thoughts were continually engaged in attacking or repulsing their enemies, with the exception of a very few, refused to attend to religious instruction, or pay us any obedience. Fresh tumults arose daily, one proceeding from another. Their ancient ill-will to the savage Mocobios, though it seemed forgotten for a while, was again revived by fresh and repeated injuries. These savages frequently came and carried off droves of horses, slaying all they met if any resistance was made. A few days before my arrival one of our Abipones pierced two of the plunderers with a spear. Not long after, a great number of Mocobios, to revenge the deaths of these men, carried off an immense drove of horses from the remoter pastures of our colony, by night, and without being perceived by any one. Whilst

hastening homewards in possession of their booty, and anticipating no attack, they were observed in crossing a wood, by our Abipones who had passed the night there to gather the alfaroba, and who suddenly fell upon them, slew some, wounded others, and put the rest to flight.

The Mocobios, by no means disheartened at this bad fortune, repeated their assaults, sometimes in troops, sometimes in small parties. On St. Joseph's day a numerous band of Mocobios concealed themselves in a neighbouring wood about evening. But this ambuscade was discovered by one of the Abipones, and destroyed by the rest, who rushed upon them in one company. For nearly two hours the whole plain trembled beneath the flying Mocobios and pursuing Abipones, whilst the air resounded with military trumpets. The women and children concealed themselves meantime within the inclosure of our court-yard, whilst I kept watch at the entrance of it. The shades of night, and the raging of a stormy south wind, created inexpressible horror. As nothing could be seen amid such profound darkness, I laid hold of my musket on perceiving a horseman softly approaching the door. From his voice, however, I discovered it to be Alaykin, who had separated himself from the rest, and was riding

about to take a survey, and see whether any ambuscade were lurking thereabouts. At length the war trumpets ceased, and from the deep silence of the whole plain I felt convinced that the Mocobios were driven to a very great distance. I therefore retired into my den to sleep: but before I had reached the bed a fresh tumult of horsemen and trumpets was heard in the market-place, accompanied with confused shouts and such a doleful lamentation of the women that I almost thought the savages were cutting their throats. I instantly snatched up my arms and ran to the place. The enemies, who wished in their hasty flight to return towards the north, deceived by the darkness, went southward, and were driven into the market-place by a troop of Abipones. Amid such clamouring both of the pursuers and of the pursued, I do not know whether one drop of blood was shed by these heroes. This I know, that I spent a sleepless night, watching at the door of the court-yard for the protection of the old women; as my companion, who should have relieved me in my office of watchman, was tormented with a violent tooth-ache.

That, too, was a memorable day when a fresh incursion of the Mocobios was averted by the craftiness of our Abipones. These savages were discovered meditating an assault upon the town

in a neighbouring field. Our Abipones were all absent, except seven, which caused the Cacique Alaykin great anxiety. Hamihegemkin, a little, but very brave man, exclaimed, "Since men and strength are wanting, we must fight with cunning to-day." Forthwith he puts on a Spanish dress, and accompanied with six others approaches the Mocobios, who, suspecting that the St. Iagan soldiers were lying in wait for them, preferred flight to combat.

At length, perceiving that these petty excursions, performed by detached parties, were fruitless, and even prejudicial to themselves, the Mocobios determined to assault our town with their whole force. They formed a warlike alliance with the Tobas, Lenguas, Mataguayos, Malbalaes, Yapitalakas, and Vilelas. Out of so many nations a vast number of savages was assembled, who, relying on the multitude of their confederates, and the excellence of their leaders, thought themselves hastening to victories, and rich spoils of all sorts of cattle, rather than to a contested fight. Two or three times indeed they began the journey, but were obliged to return and abandon their undertaking, at one time by a drought and consequent scarcity of water, at another by a heavy flood, and once by their horses, which were completely knocked up by the heat of the sun. Although the ene-

mies were not able to reach our town, yet a rumour which spread amongst us respecting their numbers, and the journey they had commenced, disturbed our minds almost more than their actual presence would have done. Esteeming themselves unable to cope with such a mighty force, numbers withdrew from the colony, under pretext of a desire to hunt; and the few who remained, having their apprehensions, and their actual danger augmented by the number of seceders, were constantly filling our ears with reports of the enemy's approach, so that we were obliged to be perpetually on the watch to prevent the possibility of a surprize. To this constant war with foreign foes was added an intestine one between the two Abiponian nations, whose inveterate enmities were extremely detrimental to the progress of the new colony.

About this time continual tumults were created in the neighbouring town of St. Jeronymo by Debayakaikin, who, as I have related, was always either threatening or assaulting. Ychoalay, believing our Alaykin to be amicably inclined towards that Cacique, and privy to his machinations to the hurt of the Riikahés, entertained an implacable hatred towards him on that account, and left nothing unattempted which might cause trouble to his hordesmen.

It is best to trace these feuds and disturbances to their very origin. For full fifteen months after their settling in the colony of Concepcion our Abipones refrained from annoying the Spaniards in any way, and faithfully preserved the peace established between them. One horse was the destruction of Troy; it was likewise the cause of mischief to this colony. One of the Spaniards, who brought us the two thousand cows purchased by the Governor of Tucuman from the estates of Sta. Fè, secretly carried off a very excellent horse. This was heavily complained of by the owner, who, to indemnify himself for the loss, stole fourteen choice horses, by night, from some estate belonging to Sta. Fè. The affair being discovered, Ychoalay, who always kept two spies in our town, came with the Spaniard to whom those horses belonged, and brought them home again in spite of the Abipones. This recovery, effected not without mutual threats and injuries, excited our Abipones to renew their former acts of rapine.

Troops of the younger Abipones, to show that Ychoalay, though supported by the Spaniards, was no object of fear to them, used to break into the estates of Sta. Fè, for the purpose of carrying off horses, the Abipones, their superiors in age and station, not daring to object, and we Jesuits being kept in ignorance of

the fact, or vainly inveighing against it. Ychoalay, provoked at hearing of the horses which our pillagers had taken, flew alone and unarmed to our colony, where he held forth to the inhabitants, from the horse on which he sat, about instantly restoring the horses of the Spaniards. But he was scoffed at by many of the bystanders, and called a rogue and a knave by Alaykin, whose son Pachiekè, the chief of the plunderers, challenged him to single combat by aiming at him with an arrow, to which Ychoalay, scorning so youthful an adversary, bared his breast. Provoked by these insults he betook himself to my house, saying, "Your people will not listen to me; what I cannot obtain by words, I will extort by arms. If they do not restore the horses forthwith, I shall return in three days, and insist upon a battle, and I now hasten home to collect as many soldiers as possible." After passing the night with us, he returned in great anger to his colony. All our endeavours to pacify and divert him from his purpose were vain; our Abipones too withstood our entreaties, choosing to endure the worst rather than restore the horses they had plundered. My companion, presaging all sorts of disasters, whatever were the event of this combat, took a journey to the town of St. Jerónymo for the purpose of appeasing Ychoalay's mind,

which, however, he would have failed to effect, had not Chitalin, Cacique of the Mocobios then acting as guards in the town of St. Jeronymo, for fear of Debayakaikin, inspired Ychoalay with milder sentiments. But as the hatred existing between these tribes was only laid asleep for a time, not extinguished, that short-lived calm was the forerunner of dreadful tempests, one following hard upon another.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MY JOURNEY TO ST. IAGO ON BUSINESS PERTAINING TO THE COLONY.

AFFAIRS were in such a state that both colonies seemed on the verge of destruction, as well from mutual enmity, as from the persecutions of foreign foes. "One of us," said Father Sanchez, "must go to St. Iago to inform the Governor of Tucuman, or his deputy Barreda, of our present jeopardy, and ask his advice on the subject. This journey, of an hundred and seventy leagues, amid vast wildernesses, where you can scarce discover a vestige of mankind, except wandering savages, who sally forth to plunder, is, as you are well aware, full both of peril and inconvenience." Unterrified by this representation, I preferred going to the city, as a messenger, to remaining as a guard in the endangered town, foreseeing that, should it be destroyed in my companion's absence, the whole blame would be laid on me by the Spaniards. I entered upon this difficult journey accompanied by three Indians, who, though converted to Christianity, were more uncivilized than any of the savages. To these was

added a Mulatto, who had been kept in chains at Sta. Fè, for stealing ten thousand Spanish crowns from a waggon conveying Peruvian money to the merchants; but escaping from prison was ordered, by the Corregidor, to preside over the guards of the cattle, by way of atoning for his crime. Thus a man convicted of theft, and escaped from prison, was my companion on the way. Oh! what a noble guard, and attendant! Yet his services were both necessary and useful to me. That part of the country which we had to cross was, in great part, covered with lakes and marshes overgrown with reeds and bulrushes, and swelled to such a degree by continual rain, that our horses could scarcely ford them; the deep holes, and ant-hills, too, hidden under the water, caused us to stumble perpetually. The rest of the plain country was deluged with water, and scarcely afforded a turf where we might lie down at night, or our horses take pasture. For the first three days of our journey, we were persecuted, day and night, by unceasing rain and thunder. Our clothes, our bodies, even the breviary, in short whatever we made use of, were dripping with water. Our provision, which consisted of beef alone, was continually moistened till it swarmed with worms; the weather at last

becoming tranquil, we tied it to a rope and hung it out to dry, but the stench of it was intolerable even at a distance: nevertheless, as no other food was to be procured in that vast solitude, we were obliged to allay our hunger with this putrid meat, that we might not absolutely die of want. My Indian companions caught an immense fish in the river Salado, but they devoured it all themselves, and would not give me a morsel, though I was labouring under the extremity of hunger. By many days' rain, rivers, not otherwise very large, were swelled above their banks, and rendered a passage not only difficult but even dangerous. Moreover, the hide we used to cross rivers with was softened to such a degree that it could not be used, unless stuffed out with boughs on every side. Our having escaped the eyes of the savages who infested those places we considered a very wonderful, as well as fortunate circumstance; for though we observed here and there the fresh footmarks both of themselves and their horses, we were never discovered by them.

The horses, of which we took a great number, on account of the length of the journey, were so much fatigued with swimming and fasting, as to be scarce able to bear their saddles. Their hoofs, too, were softened by the

water, which greatly impeded their progress. I must own that I was exceedingly fatigued myself with sitting on horseback such a length of time, in rainy weather; for it is very unpleasant to have one's clothes wet both day and night, so that they cling to the skin. My companions used to take off all their clothes, and remain naked till they were dried by the air, or the fire; but I could not have followed their example without violating the laws of decency. My strength moreover was greatly exhausted by fasting so many days: for I could never eat more than a few mouthfuls of the stinking meat, though destitute of any other provision. On the thirteenth day of our journey, impelled by hunger, I rushed into a solitary cottage which met my eyes, and though nothing was to be found there but a melon and three heads of maize, this scanty meal seemed quite to restore my exhausted strength.

After having spent sixteen days on the road, we at last came in sight of St. Iago, but were prevented from entering it by the river Dulce, which had been increased to such a width by an unusually violent flood, that it was become formidable to the most dexterous swimmers. Its course was so rapid as to bear down vast trunks of trees, and cottages torn from the banks, which, had they encountered the hide

on which we were sailing, would have overturned, or torn it to pieces. My crossing this sea in safety, I owe to Barreda, who, on being informed of my arrival on the opposite shore, sent two famous swimmers from the city to carry me over.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MY STAY AT THE CITY OF ST. IAGO. THE VISIT OF OUR CACIQUE, ALAYKIN, TO THE GOVERNOR OF SALTA.

AFTER the customary salutations on both sides, I made my excellent friend Barreda acquainted with the state of the colony. We held continual consultations on the speediest remedies. In a few days a courier was dispatched with letters to Martinez, Governor of Tucuman, at Salta, whence the Governor sent another to Xexui, where the keepers of the royal treasury reside. In the meantime, I was obliged to remain at St. Iago, where I was by no means unemployed. Besides attending to the business of the colony, I was almost daily occupied in confessing Spanish and Negro penitents, who flocked to me from all quarters, as being a stranger, and likely soon to leave the city. The Governor Martinez had often and earnestly requested that Alaykin, and the other Abiponian Caciques, might be sent to visit him at Salta, as he was in hopes of being able to conciliate them by fair words, handsome entertainment, and liberal gifts: but the savages are of a suspicious and fearful temper, and always

apprehend treachery and deceit in the friendship of the Spaniards. Alaykin, though often invited, had uniformly declined going: now, induced by what reasons I do not know, he suddenly arrived, whilst I was at St. Iago, with two of the more reputable Abipones, and after resting three days in that city, pursued his journey to Salta. The provident Barreda sent two Spaniards with him, one to act as guide, the other as interpreter, and both as defenders against assailants. This journey was little approved either by Barreda or myself; because we foresaw that should any one of the Abipones perish amongst those rocks, either from the unwonted cold of a foreign clime; or from tertian ague, which is very common there, on account of the unwholesome water; or from any other cause; the whole Abiponian nation would undoubtedly attribute it to the malignant arts of the Spaniards, and this suspicion would be the origin of an immediate war. The first day that the Abipones spent at St. Iago they were very near conceiving suspicions injurious to the Spaniards. At that time the yearly rite was solemnized of carrying about the holy wafer, some praying with a loud voice, some singing, and others dancing, to imitate David when he leapt before the ark of the covenant. To testify the public joy, very small muskets were fired up and down

the streets. The Abipones, as yet ignorant of these ceremonies, would have sworn that the Spaniards were saluting them with gunpowder, had I not made them sensible of their error. At the time when the procession is passing through the streets, men dressed in a ridiculous costume like merry-andrews, and called by the Paraguayrians *Cachidiablos*, run about, and strike the common people with a whip, if they trespass upon silence or religious decorum. Suppose one of the Abipones, whilst walking about unarmed, had received a single blow from these foolish harlequins, when would they have ceased complaining of the injury done them by the Spaniards? What an argument would it have been for breaking terms with them, and renewing the war? It may be generally observed, that the savages, however friendly to the Spaniards, can never sojourn long in their towns without endangering this amicable disposition. They imagine injuries though they do not receive any, and are often offended at a shadow.

Reflecting upon these things, I would not be persuaded by Barreda to accompany the Abipones who were going to Salta, representing that if the Governor reproached them with faults of which he might have been informed by Father Sanchez, they would suspect me of having been their accuser, and pronounce me

deserving of the eternal hatred of the whole nation. Alaykin was sumptuously entertained, and clothed by the Governor at great expense, but with little profit; for on his return, when he displayed his splendid dress of valuable scarlet cloth, and boasted of all the honours heaped upon him by the Governor, "See!" said they, "how we are feared by the Spaniards!" Thus acts of liberality and kindness were foolishly construed into testimonies of fear. The lower orders of Spaniards, too, were angry at beholding Alaykin bedecked in a beautiful Spanish robe, "Look!" they exclaimed, "this is the reward which a fellow who has merited the gallows an hundred times over, obtains for plundering and burning our property." Alaykin himself, however, was so little taken with the splendor of this Spanish dress, that he let it lie and mildew in the chest, never appearing in the town with it but once, and then, without shirt, shoes, or breeches, he was rather an object of laughter than of admiration.

It is worthy of remark, that at the very time when Alaykin was entertained in so friendly a manner by the Spaniards, some Abipones broke into the estates of the Cordobans to carry off horses, but were put to flight by a soldier. One of the fugitives, a hordesman of Alaykin, was taken, and detained in prison at Cordoba; but

at the earnest request of Barreda and myself was suffered to return home, lest the savages should avenge his captivity by the blood of the Spaniards. About the same time it was announced that a company of Abipones had attacked the St. Iagans in the Silvas del Hierro, as I have related elsewhere. Although this incursion had been headed by Oaherkaikin, it was attributed to the fellow-soldiers of Alaykin by ill-natured people, who wished to get our colony and its founder Barreda into disrepute. But this fable was afterwards detected by means of the captives, who, when restored to liberty, declared that their comrades were slain, and themselves made prisoners by the hordesmen of Debayakaikin.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MY DISASTROUS RETURN TO OUR COLONY.

HAVING settled affairs to the best of my power, I was provided by Barreda, on my departure, with forty soldiers, who were to act as guards in the colony, and to assist and instruct the Indians in cultivating land; but, at the end of a month, were to be succeeded by others for the same length of time. The soldiers said they would wait for me at a plain thirty leagues from St. Iago; but, on arriving, I only found nine there, and, as the captain affirmed that no more were ordered to attend me, I thought it best to begin the journey with these few. In a very short time, however, I had to retrace my steps, for the soldiers, alarmed at their weakness, were in constant apprehension of meeting armies of savages, bearing bloodshed and slaughter along with them. Every step that brought them nearer to the retreats of the savages increased their terror. Seeing smoke at a distance, they entertained no doubt of its being the indication of an ambuscade. Things were in such a state that they obstinately refused to proceed; they did indeed return a little way, and could hardly

be recalled by the eloquence of their captain. The same day we chose a situation to pass the night in, which the nature of the place defended from sudden attacks, the river Salado, with its steep bank, being in front, and a rugged wood behind. But about sun-set, just when the horses were let loose to pasture, and we ourselves seated at the fire, our ears were assaulted by a sudden howling of the savages from the wood, which, to the cowardly soldiers, was the signal for flight, not for a battle. Without delay every one catches his horse, and gets it ready. I represented to them that if they quitted their station the Indians might easily slay them whilst dispersed, but that if they remained united in one company, I saw nothing so very dreadful to be apprehended, as we had muskets in readiness, and the savages would attempt nothing that night if they smelt gunpowder. By this speech I prevailed upon them to remain quietly where they were, but at every motion the savages made they flew to their horses, which they had ready saddled; so great was their trepidation. One of the soldiers, a fat, but very handsome man, dissolved into tears, dolefully exclaiming every minute, "Then we must die this night!" For myself, I freely confess that the fears of my companions caused me more alarm than the threats of the savages.

That I might not, therefore, remain alone and on foot in this vast desert, in case my companions should fly and leave me, I ordered the swiftest of my horses to be caught and harnessed, that I might accompany the rest as far as possible. Fatigued and drowsy, I slept greatest part of the night on the bare turf at my horse's feet, holding the reins and a musket in my hand.

As soon as morning dawned, whilst the sand on the shores of the river bore visible marks of the feet of the Indians, the soldiers, disregarding the commands of their captain, returned home full speed, and obliged me to follow them, unless I preferred perishing in a perilous wild, full a hundred leagues in extent. I had ninety-four leagues to return, for to such a distance from the city had we travelled. The soldiers, to shorten the way, passed through the trackless woods of Turugòn, and through marshy fields, till they arrived, with me, at their native place, Salabina. The priest of the village, Clement Xerez de Calderon, embraced me with the utmost cordiality, and consoled me when I complained of the return of the runaway soldiers. "You are come to this town," said he, "by divine dispensation, to pronounce a panegyric on the Holy Mother:" for the Carmelite feast was at hand, which is annually celebrated in that place for nine successive days. Numbers of all ranks

assemble there out of the whole province, and as the place is too small to contain so many thousands of strangers, most of them are obliged to pass the night out of doors amongst the bushes, whilst the better sort are entertained by the priest. The church, though small, was furnished with very precious sacred utensils, and ornamented with more silver than is commonly seen in European churches, most part of which the priest had inherited from a Peruvian canon, a relation of his. In this church then I pronounced a panegyric of an hour's length to a very numerous audience; amongst the rest, the Vice-Governor and all the chief people of the city were present, by whom, at the end of the discourse, I was honourably conducted, amid the noise of fireworks and small cannons, to the priest's house, where, according to custom, brandy and tobacco-pipes were liberally distributed amongst the crowd of Spanish horse. During the twelve days of my unwelcome detention in this place, I devoted the whole of my time which was not spent in short slumbers, meals, and the performance of divine service, to absolving penitents, who attended me in the open plain near the church. Meantime, at Barreda's command, forty soldiers were called out to accompany me on my second return, and were ordered to assemble in a field some leagues distant from Sa-

labina. In this place, I and a few others remained three days in the open air, amid continual frost, and in danger of being devoured by tigers, vainly awaiting the rest of the soldiers; for after all there arrived no more than five-and-twenty, one of whom deserted the first night, carrying off with him some of the captain's horses. Having swam across the river Turugòn, we entered Chaco; and that we might have no sudden attack to fear from the savages who abide there, seven scouts were sent forward by day, and returned at night to make their report to the captain. These scouts discovered a party of Tobas and Mocobios, who, in flying to their lurking-holes with a herd of horses taken from the estates of Sta. Fè, set fire to all the woods and plains through which they passed, that their countrymen might be pre-informed of their return by means of the smoke. That night we passed without sleep: for the flames, which approached us before, behind, and on both sides, appeared to threaten us with destruction; and, although we escaped this, we were all very nearly blinded and suffocated by the smoke. A wind arising the next morning, averted the fire and the danger from us. Conflagrations of this kind are very frequent in the immense plains of Paraguay, and often prove destructive to travellers,

beasts, and cattle. In this case, as in many others, to escape being burnt alive, we were obliged to leap upon our horses without having time to harness them properly, and to gallop right through the flames, which it was impossible either to extinguish or to avoid. The fire which is kindled by travellers at night, or noon, and which they often neglect to extinguish on their departure, spreads, if a strong wind arise, and sets the whole plain on fire. The tall dry grass, reeds, and bulrushes, extended like a crop of corn on every side, afford combustible materials to feed the flame for many weeks: the woods too, which, being burnt by the sun's heat during the greatest part of the year, abound in pitch and gum, are easily set on fire, and with difficulty extinguished. The smoke often fills the air with such impenetrable darkness, that the sun is hid, and night brought back at mid-day. I myself have seen clouds and lightning suddenly proceed from this smoke, as it is flying off like a whirlwind; so that the Indians are not to be blamed for setting fire to the plains, in order to procure rain, they having learnt that the thicker smoke turns into clouds which pour forth water. Burning the plains, however, is not always a certain method of procuring rain, without the co-operation of other causes: for,

during a two-years' drought which we endured, the fields and groves blazed up and down the country for months, and yet the fire never yielded us any water; this caused Father Brigniel to think that these frequent conflagrations dried up the vapours of the earth, which at other times ascend to the sky, and coalesce, first into clouds, and afterwards into showers. But from my own observation, I can tell that condensed smoke, not very far removed from fire, is converted into clouds, and sends forth thunder and lightning. This matter I leave to the discussion of natural philosophers, and proceed in the relation of my journey with the St. Iagans.

I must not be silent upon a circumstance, which was at first a subject of alarm, and afterwards of hearty laughter to us. A number of Abipones employed in drying otter-skins were concealed, together with their families, in a field shaded by a little wood. Suspecting a hostile attack, as they perceived us passing by, at day-break, they began to utter their usual yells. The St. Iagans, on the other hand, amazed at this sudden vociferation, imagined that the savages were lying in wait for them, so that a great consternation was excited on both sides. I soon began to suspect the truth of the

matter, and mentioned my surmise to the captain; on which he ordered a drove of our horses to be placed in the midst of the company, lest they should be carried off by the Indians. A more active steed being substituted for the one on which I was riding, he ordered two soldiers to accompany me, with whom I was to go forward, and if any Indian appeared in sight, to observe, and accost him: for no one but myself understood the language either of the Abipones or Mocobios. I requested the captain to follow me at a distance, slowly, and without a noise, that he might be at hand to give me aid, if it were needed, with which, being a good-natured man, he was very ready to comply. After having gone a little way, I met an Abiponian horseman quietly coming to reconnoitre us, and on his nearer approach perceived him to be an inhabitant of our town; upon which I acquainted him with the cause of my journey, with the small number and amicable dispositions of my companions, afterwards inquiring after the health of Father Sanchez and Alaykin, and other things of that kind. The Abipon, relieved from his suspicions, informed me that he and his companions were employed in seeking honey in the neighbouring woods, and in hunting otters in the lakes, and courteously invited us to visit his

countrymen. Four soldiers were sent by the captain to ascertain the truth of this representation, and they quickly returned laden by the Abipones with abundance of honey: but the mutual delivery from fear of an hostile attack was sweeter far than any honey.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE PERPETUAL DISTURBANCES OF THE TOWN OF CONCEPCION.

After an absence of five months spent at St. Iago, and in my journeys thither and back, I was received by the people with great demonstrations of affection; and their joy was increased by the liberal presents which I made them of scissars, glass-beads, and other things of that description. But the affairs of the town remained in the same state as before: and there seemed to be no hope of procuring tranquillity. The Mocobios and their allies were always full of menace, often committed actual mischief. The elder Abipones, though they refrained from molesting the Spaniards, pertinaciously indulged in their usual drinking-bouts; but the younger part could not be induced to remain quietly at home, delighting to wander up and down, and commit depredations. The old women, obstinately adhering to their ancient superstitions, were not only averse to our religion themselves, but endeavoured to inspire others with the same dislike of it. No one would enter the church unless induced by the hope of reward, and very

few would attend to the sacred instructions at mid-day. Almost all were engaged in pursuits and studies of a different nature. Military expeditions were undertaken one after another.

Alaykin, to testify his fidelity to the Spaniards, and to clear himself from some suspicions that were entertained against him, went out against Oaherkaikin, and by threats or promises obliged him to give up the captives taken in the woods where Lisondo and the other St. Iagans had been lately slain. After a sort of friendship had been simulated, rather than contracted between Ychoalay and Alaykin, our townsmen went to assist the Abipones of St. Jeronymo in two expeditions against Debayakaikin, from which, however, they derived more loss than advantage. A warlike alliance did indeed subsist for a short time between the inhabitants of the two towns, but never any concord in their hearts; for our Abipones, extremely well disposed towards the Nakaiketergehes, never thought of desiring that victory might declare in favour of Ychoalay, whom they hated, because he endeavoured to prevent them from taking the horses of the Spaniards, and often restored them, when taken, to their owners by force; enraged at which, they employed double craft and industry in their depredations, not so much to indemnify themselves for their

former loss, as to signify how little heed they took of Ychoalay. This was a source of altercations, and subject of anxiety which pressed upon us day and night. Captain Miguel Ziburro, Piedra Buena, and other owners of estates from Sta. Fè, came to St. Jeronymo with a small troop of horse, to claim Ychoalay's assistance in recovering some horses stolen from them by the Indians. Ychoalay knew the pastures where the recently plundered horses had been concealed, and thither he came by night to recover them with a troop of Spaniards and Riikahés; but he was disappointed in his hopes. For our Abipones, receiving timely intelligence of Ychoalay's intentions, concealed all the horses they possessed in remote lurking-holes across the river, except some lean, old, and lame creatures, covered with worms and ulcers, which they left in the market-place, to make game of Ychoalay, who, not finding the horses he sought, resolved to attack the plunderers of them. A little before day-break, spying a crowd of our Abipones swiftly bearing down upon his party, he screened himself behind some cottages, and cunningly affirmed that the Spaniards were not come to slay the inhabitants of the town, but to confer with them. On hearing this, our Abipones bent their spears to the ground, and quietly granted a truce. A Spanish captain, of

advanced age and intrepid spirit, spoke for some time with Alaykin, by means of an interpreter, in our apartment. "Have you, then, chosen this situation for your colony," said he, "that you may plunder herds of horses from our estates at your pleasure?" "No accusation of this nature can be preferred against me," replied the Cacique; "when we were at war with each other I returned like for like, and repelled force by force; but since the establishment of the peace, I have carefully spared both yourselves and your properties." "We allow that *you* have never done us any injury," rejoined the Captain, "but your son Pachieke is the head of the plunderers." "That is your own faults," replied Alaykin; "the sanctioned peace was religiously observed by my countrymen till it was violated by a soldier of yours, who robbed them of an excellent horse. Incited by his example, my people began to think of taking horses from you, which they knew to be badly guarded." To this the Captain answered, "But it was your business to have restrained the rapacity of your hordesmen." "In truth," replied the Cacique, smiling, "that is easier said than done. These young men tell me they are going to hunt wild horses, instead of which they carry off the tame ones from your estates, without my knowledge or consent. You ought

to have guarded your estates to prevent thieves from approaching them; for it is not in my power to keep watch over plains of such vast extent, and to have an eye upon the feet and hands of my countrymen in all their journeys. Let soldiers be hired to scour the roads; and if they find any countryman of mine guilty of plundering horses, let them, with my free leave, commit him to prison, and punish him with plenty of stripes. Alarmed at such vigilance and severity on the part of the Spaniards, our youths will abandon their practice of stealing." "It is well," replied the Spaniard, "your advice shall be followed; but, in the mean time, let all the horses that have been taken from us be immediately restored." "For my particular," said Alaykin, "I have not a single horse of yours in my possession; as for the rest, do you yourself command them to make restitution, and let them do so if they will, for I have not sufficient authority to insist upon its being done. Were I to use commands or force towards my people, they would immediately desert me. Go, therefore, and endeavour to regain your horses by arms, which you will hardly do by words; my hordesmen are standing in the market-place, prepared for a battle." The Captain heard Alaykin make this declaration without alarm, and would have joined battle forthwith, had not two

noble Spaniards, neither of whom belonged to the army, and who were terrified at the appearance of the Abipones, persuaded him to silence, peace, and speedy departure. Refusing an invitation to dinner, the whole party returned without delay to St. Jeronymo, along with Ychoalay, who afterwards told me he should never have brought the Spaniards, had he been aware that Alaykin's soldiers were so numerous. Our Abipones, emboldened by the hurried return of the Spaniards, made no hesitation in sending one of their people to watch them, and exhort them to hasten their journey, lest, if they tarried on the way, they should be pursued by the rest of the townsmen. Whilst the Spaniards were still on their road, a tempest arose, with rain, thunder, and lightning; meantime, our Abipones were celebrating this bloodless victory with songs and drinking, highly elated at the idea of having baffled Ychoalay, and caused him to come labour in vain.

This unseasonable visit of the Spaniards had well nigh proved the destruction of my companion and myself; the Indians, persuaded that we had acted in collusion with them, cruelly persecuting us as traitors and enemies. Not one of them would enter our house or the church; not one would deign to hold any conversation with us: so that we doubted not but

that our lives were in danger; yet the suspicion entertained by the Indians was totally groundless, as the journey, and the machinations of the Spaniards had never been revealed to us even in a dream. On the night that succeeded their departure, as I was mending my torn shoes, the only pair I possessed, to defend my feet from the rain which was plainly portended by the appearance of the sky, a sudden noise induced me to leave my hut, when I saw a great number of our Abipones riding about the market-place, with their faces painted, and with spears in their hands; at which I was much surprized, not knowing who or where the enemy was. But looking round on all sides, I at length espied the Spaniards, with Ychoalay's Abipones, approaching the town, and immediately awakened Father Sanchez, who was dreaming of no such matter.

It was openly reported that Ychoalay, enraged that the event of this expedition had proved so contrary to his desires and expectations, was directing his whole attention, in conjunction with the Spaniards, towards totally destroying our colony; on hearing which, our Abipones withdrew from the town, and hastened by crowds to their known retreats. What were our feelings on perceiving this? We wrote to inform Barreda of the matter, and in the mean

time awaited a remedy for our affliction, which might, after all, prove too late; for conscious of that general's lenity towards his soldiers, and of their tardiness in undertaking a journey, we justly feared that Saguntum would be lost while Rome deliberated.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ARRIVAL OF BARREDA, AND THE REMOVAL OF THE TOWN TO THE BANKS OF THE SALADO.

BARREDA groaned on receiving intelligence of the approaching ruin of the town; he knew how much trouble the Abipones had caused the Spaniards, whilst at enmity with them, and therefore thought every exertion should be made to preserve a friendship which was so necessary to the whole province. Without delay, he set off, with four hundred horsemen, in the intention of removing the town from the neighbourhood of Ychoalay, and Sta. Fè, into the territory of St. Iago. The journey was an exceedingly arduous one; for in the first part of it not a drop of water could be found, often for the space of twenty leagues, the lakes and rivers being exhausted by a long drought; and towards the latter end, the country was flooded by unceasing rains, to such a degree, that they were obliged to ride through water by day, and to lie down in it at night, when overcome by sleep. Many of the soldiers passed the night in the trees, and placing a piece of hard turf, taken from the ant-hills, amongst the boughs,

kindled a fire upon it to heat the water in which they infused the herb of Paraguay. Barreda reached our town a little before noon, on Whitsunday. He alighted from his horse, his clothes dripping with the rain, and hastening to the church, assisted me as I was ministering at the altar; thus affording an excellent example to the surrounding soldiers and Indians. But his mind was wholly intent on speedily remedying the afflicted state of the town, which, to prevent its utter ruin, he wished to have removed to the banks of the Salado, eighty leagues distant from its former situation. But Alaykin boldly and prudently condemned the proposed migration, declaring that the place mentioned by Barreda for the site of the colony, appeared to him objectionable. "What," said he, "do you wish us to drink bitter water, which the very beasts refuse to touch?" The counsels of Barreda were equally displeasing to all the other Abipones, who were strongly attached to their native soil, a soil abounding in delightful fruits and wild animals, and fortified with so many secure lurking-holes; and who dreaded the vicinity of the Spaniards with as much anxiety as servitude, having learnt that the one was often the occasion of the other. Although Barreda endeavoured to mollify them with gifts and promises, he never could induce them to yield to his

wishes. He gave the Cacique Malakin a woollen blanket, handsomely embroidered in various colours; a gift which proved the most powerful persuasive to his mind. Arrayed with this elegant coverlet, the savage promised to migrate, with his family, wherever Barreda chose, and prevailed upon the Cacique Ypirikin and his followers, to make the same resolution.

But the followers of the Caciques Alaykin, Oaikin, Machito, and Zapancha, were afraid that the Spanish soldiers would take them by force whither they refused to go, and that should they desert, Barreda would be angry, and fall upon them by surprize. Solicitous, therefore, to avert this disaster, they secretly sent to the town of St. Jeronymo, to request the aid of their old friend Ychamenraikin, who accordingly came with a chosen band of soldiers, under pretence of paying his respects to Barreda. This Cacique was present at the repeated consultations which Barreda held with our chiefs, and always spoke with great earnestness in dissuasion of the proposed removal; but was so highly incensed at a gentle rebuke he received from Barreda, for meddling with other people's concerns, that though he dissembled his angry feelings in presence of the Spaniards, he immediately conferred in private with Alaykin on the subject of renouncing their friendship. It was his intention

to desert the colony, and after slaying the two priests, Brigniel and Navalon, to return to his old retreats, and renew the war with the Spaniards. This he prefaced by making his people carry off a number of choice horses from Barreda's soldiers, and indeed he would have put the whole of his iniquitous scheme into execution, had it not been for Chitalin, Cacique of the Mocobios, who fortunately came from St. Xavier to speak with Barreda about some of his countrymen still remaining in captivity amongst the Spaniards, and afterwards went a little out of his way to visit the town of St. Jeronymo, which was only ten leagues distant from our colony. The friendship and eloquence of the Mocobian Cacique had so much influence upon Ychamenraikin as utterly to banish this wicked determination from his mind; he even had the horses, taken from Barreda's soldiers, brought back to St. Iago, and ever after cultivated the friendship of the Spaniards.

Rain continued without intermission for more than a month had converted the whole of the plain country into a lake. Most of the horses perished from their hoofs being softened by remaining in the water day and night, and those which survived could scarcely stand on their feet. Three hundred were left on the road, being unable to travel on that account. Many

of the soldiers, who had come furnished with ten horses, had not one remaining on their return, and were forced to use others lent them by their companions. Amid these tumults, both of the weather and of the people, indignant at the very mention of a removal, a whole month passed away. Barreda, impatient of the delay, determined to set off without waiting for the cessation of the rain, accompanied by his own people, and those families of Abipones that chose to follow him. The day before the journey, four waggons were sent forward, laden with the domestic furniture of the town, and also with gates, and doors of houses; five pair of oxen, and twenty assisting horses were requisite to drag each of these waggons through a country full of water and marshes: at length, however, as no strength nor industry proved sufficient, it was found necessary to lighten the waggons of the doors and every thing of wood.

When we were ready to depart, the Abipones sat quietly in their huts, all of which Barreda entered with me. I acted as interpreter, whilst he warned them in a melancholy and threatening tone, to consider again and again what they were doing; intimating that he should look upon those as his friends who followed us, but that they who remained would hardly

escape the avenging hands of Ychoalay, and the Spaniards of Sta. Fè. All his efforts were vain. Mournful silence and sullen looks were their only reply. Barreda, not choosing to delay any longer, left the town with me, part of the soldiers being sent forward, part following us; but Father Sanchez was suddenly seized with an indisposition so that he could not join us till the morrow. Malakin, Ypirikin, and thirty families followed us on the first day of our journey.

On the second, the showers ceased, but constant rain for thirty days had entirely inundated the country, which is naturally plain and level. For three weeks we had to ride on horseback with the water touching our legs, and often reaching up to our knees. That the continual wet might be the sooner exhaled, we always rode barefoot, hanging our shoes and stockings from the top of the saddle: for the water contained within the shoes causes faintings, weakness of stomach, small ulcers, head-ache, and other disorders in America. We found chewed tobacco leaves, mixed with saliva, and applied every night to the soles of our feet, a powerful preservative against this noxious moisture. On the same account it was thought useful to smoke tobacco. We were obliged to pass the night in the cold air, often covered from head to foot

with hoar frost, which was almost continual at that time of the year. When we wanted to lie down at night, much art and good fortune were requisite to choose a situation, which, though very muddy, had but little water. We were obliged to swim, or sail on the pelota across some rivers, which had overflowed their banks; but it was a matter of more time and labour to convey to the other side huge waggons, and some thousands of sheep, oxen, and horses, without the assistance of a bridge or boat.

Some soldiers, weary of travelling, deserted from us. One, who was particularly eager to get home, endeavoured to accelerate his return by a great piece of villainy. He knew that they would be detained a long time in building the new colony, and, resolving to disconcert the whole scheme, persuaded the Abipones, under a show of kindness and compassion, to return to their native soil, affirming that Barreda's only motive in removing them from thence, was to furnish himself with an opportunity of surprizing and slaying them with impunity. The asseverations of this wicked man found the readier credit with the Abipones, from their constantly having this suspicion impressed upon their minds. Next day, when we began to proceed on our journey, not one of the Abipones was seen to stir. Barreda, astonished at this

sudden tergiversation, inquires the cause, but receives no answer; till at last a woman, who had long been in captivity amongst the Spaniards, makes known the soldier's impudent discourse, but could be induced by no solicitations to discover the man's name. Barreda, after threatening this most abandoned of mankind, whoever he was, with a thousand deaths, reproached Malakin for his ridiculous credulity, and that he might be prevailed upon to pursue his journey by some new testimony of friendship, made him a present of the silver clasps that fastened his shirt-sleeves, having nothing else left to give. This bauble proved as potent as the coverlet had done, and induced the deserting Indians to follow us. But here too we found that violent affections are but of short duration. The nearer the Abipones drew to the Spanish territories, the stronger grew their fear and repentance at having quitted their native country. At night, as we were sitting on the ground near the fire with Barreda, Malakin came to us, and protested that those lands were not approved of by his people; that they dreaded the neighbourhood of the Spanish nation, and lamented the want of trees, fruits, roots, and herbs, which the women could not dispense with. Barreda exerted all his eloquence to refute these objections, and retain the

wavering minds of the people in their duty, promising all sorts of benefits, emoluments, security, and convenience to accrue from the vicinity of the Spanish towns; which method of arguing moved our extreme disapprobation, as the Indians, finding things turn out contrary to what they had been led to expect, began to accuse the Spaniards of want of veracity, and greater liberality in words than deeds.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE CALAMITIES AND PERPETUAL MUTATIONS OF THE NEW COLONY AT THE RIVER SALADO.

Two-and-twenty days elapsed before we reached the situation appointed for the colony. Towards the east it has the bank of the river Salado; an extensive plain stretches itself towards the west, and on the north and south it is shut in by a wood. A plain, situated in the midst, scarce four hundred feet in extent, and sloping down from the high shore of the Salado, was chosen for the site of the colony. The river, though swollen with long rain, had something salt and bitter in the taste of its waters, and we all foresaw that when the sun's heat caused the flood to cease we should be in want of water for daily use. Barreda, contented with the situation that first offered, was displeased at hearing these true, though unpleasant observations, and angrily said—"Whoever dislikes this water, may go a hundred leagues off to drink of the Parana, for aught I care." Under his directions, two little huts were hastily built for myself and my companion, of stakes, covered

with dry grass; a third of the same description was erected to serve as a temporary chapel. The Abipones were forced to lodge under the mats which they made use of in travelling. Without any further trouble, Barreda departed with his soldiers, and was declared the founder of a new town by the Governor of Tucuman, the Viceroy of Lima, and indeed every body.

Deserted in a vast wilderness, and delivered up to the savages, to misery, and continual perils, we were called miracles of patience and obedience by all the well-judging Spaniards; and indeed, had we had as many assisting hands as admiring eyes, ourselves and the Abipones would have been well provided for. Our huts were completely exposed to sun, rain, and wind, to serpents, toads, and dormice, and, what was most dangerous, to tigers. The place of door and window was supplied by two holes, before each of which we suspended a bull's hide. But neither materials nor tools for making tables were to be got. Great numbers of tigers lay hid within a neighbouring wood, and in wet weather used to creep into the tents of the Indians to shelter themselves from the rain and stormy wind; they also attempted to enter our huts sometimes, as we discovered in the morning from the marks of their feet, but were deterred by a mastiff dog, which we kept for a

guard. The more tigers were pierced by the spears of the Abipones, the more seemed to flock thither, as if to revenge the deaths of their companions. Crowds of large dormice, impelled by hunger, resorted to us from the plain, and finding no eatables, gnawed every thing of wood, or flax, or wool in our house. The place also swarmed with large and venomous toads, which, if offended by a blow or kick, immediately squirted out their blinding urine. About sun-set they issued in crowds from their holes, and covering all the ground, rendered it as slippery to the feet as ice. These were the distresses of the place; what shall I say of our own?

Beef, and that wretchedly bad, was almost our only provision: though we sometimes tasted the wings of the emus which the Indians caught. We seldom or never used wine, except at mass. Our own privations, however, we could have borne with; the worst was our being destitute of the ordinary comforts and conveniences for the Indians. We had no provision to give them but ill-tasted beef, the oxen having grown extremely lean from the fatigues of the journey. Their daily employment, to pass away the time and to assuage their hunger, was hunting emus and collecting honey from under ground. Boars, stags, tamanduas, the fruits of palms and other trees, and eatable roots, all which abound

in Chaco, are not to be found here. A numerous flock of sheep, which supplied us with wool for wearing-apparel, disappeared in one night: the Abipones, after diligently searching the woods and remoter plains, could discover no traces of them. Eight days after their disappearance one ram returned to the town, but what became of the rest is unknown to this day. Continual disturbances were added to our extreme poverty. As the highway leading out of Tucuman to Sta. Fè lay near the town, travellers frequently carried off our horses and oxen that were dispersed up and down the pastures. The same depredations were committed with impunity by parties of wandering savages. Many scouts were sent by Alaykin's hordesmen, who remained in their native place, to examine the situation of the town, and other particulars, to entice Malakin's people away, and to threaten them with hostile assaults and all sorts of extremities, unless they returned to the former colony. Malakin himself, however, remained firm, holding threats and promises in equal contempt, but not a few of his hordesmen were prevailed upon to revisit Alaykin's horde, afterwards rejoining us again and again. The perpetual going and returning of the savages was like the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Alaykin, still unreconciled to the change of the town, in-

fested all the ways between Cordoba and Sta. Fè with a great company of Abipones, and became highly formidable to all travellers. Of the Spanish merchants some were slain, some robbed, and others annoyed by vexatious detention.

I informed Barreda, by means of a trusty messenger, of the slaughter and rapine committed by the hostile Abipones, and of their threats and intentions, that he might, if possible, find some means of restraining their boldness, and providing for the security of the Spanish travellers. Troops of horse had indeed been repeatedly sent us, both to act as guards and to build our houses: yet the savages never made closer or more daring attacks upon our colony, never carried off greater numbers of horses and oxen, or caused us more trouble and danger than when these few soldiers were present. At length Barreda came himself with two companies of horse, and directed a couple of small rooms to be built for us of unbaked brick, and wooden beams; a third, of the same materials, but longer, was styled a chapel. We ourselves were not mere spectators, but strenuous assistants in the whole work:—laboriously occupied with mud and timber, we wearied both our hands and feet for whole days.

It grieved us greatly that buildings erected with so much labour should be occupied by us

but a very few days. Shortly after, when, at the command of the Superiors, I removed to St. Jeronymo, my companion and the Indians were obliged to migrate elsewhere: the neighbouring rivers and lakes being exhausted by long drought, or at least impregnated with salt, and the plain being on the same account destitute of grass, it became necessary to remove the colony to the shores of the Dulce, many leagues distant, before the cattle and the inhabitants were destroyed by hunger and thirst. When settled there, the Abipones had nearly been overwhelmed in the night by a sudden inundation of the river, a greater than which none of the natives had ever witnessed. Thus they were obliged to remove their colony over and over again, one time to seek water, at another to avoid it. How calamitous and prejudicial these reiterated migrations were to the Indians, to the priests, and to the cattle, would be tedious to relate. After fourteen changes of the colony, they at last obtained a more fortunate situation on the western shore of the Rio Dulce, inhabited by Spaniards, and about fifty leagues distant from the city of St. Iago. More fertile pastures were no where to be found: so that within a few years the number of kine increased to thirty thousand, though many were yearly consumed in feeding the Indians, especially

after Debayakaikin and his numerous hordesmen fled thither from St. Ferdinand. This new guest proved in reality an enemy to the colony by frequently involving it in broils, on account of his long quarrel with Ychoalay. At length, however, he bade farewel to the town of Concepcion, and retired, with most of his people, to their ancient retreats in Chaco, where, as I have related, he was slain in battle by Ychoalay.

The colony, freed from the disturbers of its peace, began at length to enjoy tranquillity; but the fruits never corresponded to the labour bestowed upon it for many years by the indefatigable Sanchez and his various companions. Many adults, however, especially when at the point of death, and a still greater number of infants, received baptism; the rest were civilized. The Spaniards accounted the friendship of this nation, formerly for many years their bitterest enemies, an immortal benefit; and learnt, at length, after they had lost us, that to our patience and industry they were chiefly indebted for it: for when, to the grief of all Paraguay, we were sent back to Europe, almost all the Abipones returned to their former savage state, and were not to be appeased by the Spaniards without the utmost difficulty.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A COLONY INHABITED BY THE YAAUKANIGA ABIPONES, AND DISTINGUISHED BY THE NAME OF ST. FERDINAND AND ST. FRANCIS.

THE city of Corrientes, brought to extremities by the depredations of the savages, had long been desirous to follow the example of the other cities, and found a colony of Yaaukaniga Abipones, which might defend them against the inroads of the Tobas and Mocobios. A little town was at length prepared under the directions of the Vice-Governor Patron, and with the consent of Ychoalay, who at first opposed the design. The Indians had themselves made choice of a situation, which, though not the most opportune, was approved by the Spaniards, from their being unable to meet with a more eligible one. It is a small piece of plain ground, two leagues distant from the western shore of the Parana, a little below its junction with the Paraguay. Towards the east it has the city Corrientes in front, and behind it flows the Rio Negro, the waters of which are so bitter and salt that the very beasts refuse them. It is surrounded on every side by woods and pools, all destitute of fresh water,

but swarming with leeches, crocodiles, and various kinds of large snakes. This whole tract of land runs out into plain ground, partially interrupted with marshes and woods, and affords rich and wholesome pasture for cattle, especially where a grove of caranday palms is extended for many leagues along the shore of the Parana. The soil, if tilled, returns every kind of seed with interest. The trees are laden with a variety of fruits, and resound with the singing of parrots and other birds, and the chattering of apes. Boars, stags, deer, various kinds of rabbits, capibaris, ducks, plenty of honey, alfarobas, and noble trees, affording wood for making ships, waggons, or houses, are every where to be seen. But tigers, alas! continually infest this place; the climate, which is excessively hot, abounds in whirlwinds, lightning, and rain; and the air, pregnant with noxious vapours proceeding from the stagnant waters of adjacent marshes, as well as with innumerable gnats, renders life unpleasant, and night intolerable to the inhabitants.

Yet here did the Yaaukanigas, for many years, make their abode. Their Cacique, Narè, was a man of noble birth and distinguished prowess, but not otherwise remarkable either for greatness of mind or body, and notoriously addicted to women and drinking. Fonder of

ease than of business, he on all occasions betrayed a very indolent disposition. He was thought, however, to have redeemed this vice of his nature by some appearance of virtue, on account of the fidelity with which he adhered to the peace he had granted the Spaniards; though this his followers, eager for booty, attributed to fear rather than to virtue. He had many younger brothers, amongst the most famous Pachiekè, a man endowed with great boldness and equal sagacity, who made himself much dreaded in the course of the war with the Spaniards: but who, by intemperance in drinking, and frequent repudiations of his wives, had sullied his reputation for valour. He entertained a great affection for Nicolas Patron, who always partook of his deliberations when war was treated of. We thought his sagacity of no less importance than his bravery, when the enemies were to be dealt with. Besides Narè, some of the Yaaukanigas followed Oahari and Kachirikin, men in the prime of their age, and equally distinguished by their noble family and skill in plundering.

There was a great succession of priests of our order in the administration of this colony: they all came full of health, but their strength being exhausted, were generally recalled to recruit. It is incredible what dangers and distresses were endured by Fathers Thomas and

Joseph Garzia, the first founders, amongst these ferocious savages. Kachirikin, the most insolent of them, because he was not allowed to slay cows at his pleasure, attempted to catch Father Garzia with a halter, in the sight of the Spaniards. These men were succeeded in a few months by Fathers Joseph Rosa and Pedro Ebia, who departed, the one grievously affected in his feet, the other in his head. At last, Father Joseph Klein, a Bohemian, though often ill in health, proved equal to the burden, and sustained it to the end. What he did and endured for about twenty years may be easier conceived than described. He was able to overcome every kind of danger and misery, fearlessly despising the one, and patiently enduring the other. He employed the annual subsidies advanced by the Guarany towns, in establishing a rich estate on the opposite bank of the Parana, from the profits of which he obtained every thing necessary for feeding and clothing the Indians. I must here renew my former complaint, that although the Spaniards derived so much advantage from the peace and friendship of the savages, they did little or nothing towards preserving their colonies, so that the whole weight of anxiety respecting the support of the Indians, devolved upon our shoulders. If it had depended upon the citizens of Corrientes alone,

this colony would most certainly have perished in its infancy from want of food and necessaries of every sort. For nearly all the sacred utensils, for our whole stock of cloth for clothing the Indians, and of cattle in the estate, we were indebted to the liberality of the Guaranies.

Joseph Klein often spent many months in this town without any companion, but he was assisted at different times by Fathers Gregorio Mesquida, Juan Quesada, and Dominico Perfeti, a Roman, to whom, he having been long in a bad state of health, I was ordered by the Provincial to succeed. Leaving St. Jeronymo, after spending two years there, I was obliged to sail, for some days, against the stream on the river Parana, in a wretched boat; the rest of the way from the little town of Sta. Lucia to the city of Corrientes I travelled on horseback. The storminess of the weather, the consequent marshiness of the roads and swelling of the rivers, together with the neighbourhood of the savage Charruas, rendered the journey extremely difficult, and, on many accounts, dangerous. I was honourably conducted, by the then Vice-Governor, to the colony of St. Ferdinand, on my first approach to which many things presented themselves to my observation which could not but be unpleasing—a place surrounded on all sides by marshes, lakes, and

close impending woods; air burning day and night; and a very small apartment furnished with two doors but no window, and roofed with the bark of the palm, so badly cemented, that, whenever it rained, you were as much wetted in the house as if you had been out of doors. At dinner, water was taken from a neighbouring ditch where numbers of horses, dogs, and other animals daily drank and bathed, which received all the filth of the town, and was full of leeches and insects of different kinds. When I considered these things I no longer wondered that the health of my predecessors had given way, and that the Indians themselves had so often to contend with tertian fevers.

Although I had remained uninjured amidst a hundred calamities during the former years, yet this situation had well nigh proved fatal to me. The origin of my complaint was this. Towards sun-set the air was filled with innumerable gnats, which intruded into my apartment when supper was brought in, and by their stings and their loud hissing prevented me from gaining a moment's rest. I passed whole nights without sleep, walking up and down the court-yard for the sake of fresh air, which brought on a loathing of food. Continual want of rest and sustenance reduced me to such an emaciated state that I was literally nothing but skin and bone.

Some thought I could not survive above three months, but these sad presages were prevented from being fulfilled by the humanity of the Provincial, at whose command I was removed to the old towns of the Guaranies. It was not without tears that I bade farewell to the Abipones, amongst whom I had lived for five years, and with whose language I was become pretty well acquainted; but the idea of returning to them, when restored to health, mitigated my grief at parting. After four months spent in the town of Sta. Maria Mayor, on the shores of the Uruguay, the inveterate nausea departed, sleep and appetite returned, and my health was completely re-established. After spending nine years amongst the Guaranies, whose language, which is much easier than the Abiponian, I soon learnt, I was again called out to found a colony for the Abipones in Timbo, but returned at the end of two years. In short, I performed the part of a missionary for eighteen years, spending seven amongst the Abipones, eleven amongst the Guaranies.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PROGRESS OF THE TOWN OF ST. FERDINAND, WHICH WAS RETARDED BY DEBAYAKAIKIN.

THE Yaaukanigas, in proportion as they have less estimable qualities than the other Abipones, are more arrogant and untractable; yet we never despaired of bringing them to a better course of life, and of this there appeared some likelihood, so long as they were the sole inhabitants of the colony. The more advanced in age discontinued their usual incursions against the Spaniards, and employed themselves in agriculture. Their dispositions grew milder from daily intercourse with us. After some months' instruction we joyfully beheld an appearance of civilization beginning to flourish amongst them; their horror of baptism insensibly wore away, many infants and young people received it with the consent of their parents, and numbers of women and girls crowded to partake of the daily instructions in the rudiments of religion. But the old female jugglers thought it a crime even to touch the threshold of the church, and did their utmost to prevent others from entering it; and to com-

pel the boys, who were driving about on horseback, to attend divine service, was a matter of some difficulty. One of the Yaaukanigas, a man advanced in years, came with his family to be baptized at the very beginning of the colony. The strict integrity of this excellent man obtained him the name of *Juan Bueno*, and his wife, daughter, and female Negro captive were equally exemplary in their conduct.

The great hopes that we began to entertain of the happy advancement of religion and of the colony, were all nipped in the bud by the unlucky arrival of Debayakaikin, who, fearing an attack from Ychoalay, fled thither with a troop of his hordesmen, thinking himself secure in a town under the protection of the Spaniards. Of Ychoalay's challenge to Debayakaikin, and the pacification effected by means of the Vice-Governor of Corrientes, I have spoken elsewhere; I shall now show how pernicious Debayakaikin's visit proved to the colony of St. Ferdinand. His voracious and turbulent followers, besides privately slaying oxen and calves, to the great loss of the estate, involved the colony itself in a war with its neighbours, the Mocobios and Tobas. A party of Mocobios, leaving the town of Concepcion, surprized the unfortunate Alaykin, about day-break, in the open plain, and after slaying him and seven

of his fellow-soldiers, in an engagement, they roasted and devoured them on the spot. Many wounded Abipones saved their lives by the swiftness of their horses, but the women and children fled for security to the recesses of a neighbouring grove. Pachickè, to revenge his father's death, persuaded the Yaaukanigas and Debayakaikin's hordesmen to undertake an expedition against the Mocobios, in which although scarcely any blood was shed, yet the Mocobios, provoked by this hostile incursion, conspired to the destruction of the whole colony. Repeated assaults were made both by day and night, and continued for many years with various fortune: out of many I will relate a few.

About day-break a vast company of Mocobios suddenly made their appearance in the market-place. Some of them surrounded Debayakaikin, who was drinking with most of his hordesmen; the rest meantime, unopposedly, carried off droves of horses that were wandering up and down the pastures. This vast booty, however, cost the lives of some; for Pachickè, brother of the Cacique Narè, mounting a horse, attacked the hindmost company as they were departing, and pierced some with his spear, which, on his return, he displayed smoking with recent blood. On many other occasions, the Yaaukanigas, having expeditious horses at

hand, pursued the flying Mocobios, and deprived them not only of the horses they had plundered, but of those they had used on the journey, sending them home on foot to report the deaths of their comrades. One time the plain was deluged to such a degree that it did not afford a single spot where the Mocobios could lie down at night; they therefore made themselves beds by twining twigs here and there amongst the boughs of the trees, and in these hurdles laid themselves down to sleep, but were surprized at night by the pursuing Yaaukanigas, who slew some, wounded others, and carried off the whole of the booty. Would that they had been equally successful on the eleventh of December! that day, so fatal to my horses, will never be erased from my memory.

The day before, a Guarany, who guarded the cattle, announced that, early in the morning, he had observed the footsteps of the enemy, and that many horses were missing. Whilst the Yaaukanigas were vainly deploring their loss, I, with my companion Father Klein, and two young men, traversed the plain for some time on horseback. We saw that a troop had passed the Rio Negro, from their footsteps impressed on the sand, and from the grass being trodden down by the multitude of horses. No one doubted that the enemy were by that time at a

considerable distance, no one therefore thought of pursuing them. I often blew a military trumpet, and with a loud voice we uttered many pleasant sayings in the Mocobian tongue; we were both seen and heard by the Mocobios, who were lurking hard by, but not attacked, because they purposed making an assault on the town next day. No suspicion of the enemy's intention being entertained, we all slept soundly. But lo! and behold, the next day at eleven o'clock the same Mocobios came in sight of the town to carry off the remaining herd of horses. Most of the Yaaukanigas being engaged in the chase, the rest in drinking, and we ourselves in sleeping, as usual with the Spaniards at mid-day, the women assembled together and filled the market-place and our court-yard with their lamentations; awakened by which we flew to repel the enemy, each furnished with a musket, and rendered, by this means, formidable to ever so numerous a foe. Father Klein set off first, accompanied by two Abipones. As I was following, a drunken Yaaukaniga took me by the shoulder, and said, in a fierce tone, "Where are you hurrying? Why don't you remain to guard the town? It is better that our horses should be taken than our wives and children." "Let me alone," replied I; "both shall be taken care of."

I was now farther from the town than from the enemies, and seeing the plain filled with them as with a swarm of locusts, could scarce persuade myself that such a multitude could be kept in awe by two muskets. Nevertheless I hastily tied on my slippers that I might be disencumbered in running, if a precipitate retreat were necessary, and advanced towards the savages whom I saw Father Klein approaching; but they, terrified at the sight of the musket alone, took to immediate flight, carrying off with them a numerous drove of horses. Although the enemy was gone we did not think ourselves free from the danger of an attack, a cloud of dust causing us to suspect that a troop of savage horse was approaching within the woods. The armed Yaaukanigas stood for some time in form of battle, till at length we saw an Indian bringing back the remains of the horses which had escaped the hands of the plunderers. Quickly mounting these horses they all hastened, about sun-set, to a place some leagues distant, named Likinranala; for they knew that the Mocobios would pass that way, and therefore entertained great hopes of being able to chastise them, and to recover the horses. But they returned next day empty-handed, having been eluded by the craftiness of the enemy, who, forewarned by their spies, that

our people were lying in ambuscade, avoided that situation, and swifty fled with their booty through ways impeded with marshes and reeds, first disencumbering themselves of the saddles, and whatever else might retard their flight; which, as it could be made no use of, our people burnt. For my own part I had to lament the loss of some excellent horses, though consoled by the circumstance that this aggression had ended without slaughter on either side, though there is reason to doubt that all the Mocobios reached home without loss of blood, as weapons were cast at them in their approach to the estate by some Yaaukanigas who guarded the cattle, but with what success is not known.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FRESH DISTURBANCES, CAUSED BOTH BY STRANGERS, AND BY THE INHABITANTS THEMSELVES.

At another time the colony was threatened with a still more dangerous storm, but which was averted by the valour of the Yaaukanigas. More than three hundred Mocobios and Tobas approached the town by a silent and hasty journey. One of their number deserted,—got the start of his companions, and informed Oaherkaikin's Abipones, our neighbours and friends, of the impending attack; by which means we received timely intelligence of our danger. Father Klein, seeing that we were inferior to the enemy in point of number, with his usual intrepidity crossed the Parana in a boat, though a violent south wind had rendered it exceedingly rough, to seek supplies from the Vice-Governor of Corrientes. Meantime our Yaaukanigas, who were constantly exhorted by me to a strenuous defence of the colony, indulged in drinking, as usual with them when they anticipate an encounter with the enemy. For my part I neglected nothing which could

contribute to the defence of the colony, exerting the utmost vigilance, and sending scouts and guards in every direction. At two o'clock on Quinquagesima Sunday, a Yaaukaniga spied one of the enemies in a neighbouring field, from which we readily concluded that a company was there also. The Yaaukanigas, though hardly able to stand on their feet from intoxication, immediately mounted their horses which the women made ready, and rushed in a disorderly manner upon the Mocobios and Tobas, who were lying hid at the border of the wood. Uncertain of the event, and anxious for the safety of the town, I remained in arms ready to bring my assistance wherever it might be required. Gracious Providence ordered things according to our wish; for the enemies, surrounded, and alarmed at our sudden attack, chose to decline battle, and trust to flight. In the closeness of pursuit, the Mocobios were divided. Part flying towards the south slew two Abiponian women who were gathering alfarobas, and carried into captivity one infant which they took from its mother's breast. The other part hastened towards the north, pursued by our townsmen till late at night. One only of the Yaaukanigas received a slight wound at the beginning of the conflict: how

many of the enemy were slain and wounded is uncertain.

But you, I suppose, are still expecting the auxiliary forces which Father Klein had sailed to Corrientes to seek the day before. I will give you some account of this matter, to show you how little dependence could be placed on the support of the Spaniards, even in cases of extreme danger. About evening, whilst our Indians were pursuing the enemy, two Spanish soldiers arrived, but neither of them deserved the name of soldier, or bore the slightest shadow of resemblance to a Spaniard. If Hercules be not a match for two, what, I beseech you, could a couple of poor dastardly fellows do against four hundred savages? They were of no use whatever, and served only to excite the laughter of the Indians. No prayers, no promises, could induce them to employ themselves in removing the cattle to the town, lest the Mocobios should carry them away at night from the pastures: palpitating with fear they declared it impossible to stir without the inclosure of our house. The Indian boys, more courageous than these soldiers, brought the whole herd within sight of the town, and diligently guarded them at night that they might not be again dispersed. We all kept watch the whole night lest the enemy should repeat

the attack; and indeed in the morning our scouts discovered traces of the Mocobios who had been wandering over our estate.

The Yaaukanigas, exasperated at the slaughter of the two women, and at the inefficient supplies afforded them by the Spaniards, sent a courier for the Vice-Governor, and menacingly signified that they should consider any delay or refusal as a violation of friendship; and on Ash Wednesday, Nicolas Patron, accompanied by ten soldiers, appeared with Father Klein. Our Indians, and the hordesmen of Oaherkaikin, who had been summoned to attend, received him in arms, and with their faces painted; and when he entered our house they besieged the doors on both sides, and blocked up all access to the market-place, which plainly indicated that they entertained hostile intentions. The Vice-Governor, who was of an intrepid and jocular disposition, spying Pachiekè, brother of Narè, at other times a great friend of his, said to him,—"If you are going to speak with me, first wipe off the soot with which you have daubed your face;" to this he replied, in a threatening tone, "Because you are going to speak with me is the very reason that I have painted my face with these dark colours." He then, in the name of all the people, insolently rehearsed their grounds of complaint, saying,

"*We* victors unwillingly granted *you* vanquished the peace you sued for. Long did we refuse this colony which you have thrust upon us, knowing ourselves less powerful than the enemies which dwelt in the neighbourhood. To free us from this anxiety how many and great were your promises! 'My soldiers,' said you, 'shall be yours, and your enemies shall be mine.' Our forming this friendship with you, procured us the hatred of the Mocobios and Tobas, our former allies. For many years they have dared the utmost against us. Our children are torn from their mothers' bosoms, our wives slain, our horses stolen; the enemies attack us day and night, and did we not elude their snares by vigilance, and their numbers by valour, not a man of us would be left alive, or have a horse to sit upon. These things are not unknown to you, yet you quietly hear of our calamities without emotion, and never even bestow a thought upon assisting us. Of late, when, to revenge our injuries, we attacked the Mocobios with hostile arms, how fiercely was your anger kindled against us! You are afraid, forsooth, that the Mocobios, if provoked by us, will vent their rage upon you, and ravage the territory of Corrientes. How long will you have your security purchased with the danger of our lives? Spite of all your opposition, we are

determined to go out against the Mocobios, and revenge our injuries. This one request we reasonably make, as a testimony of your friendship, and a reward of ours, that you will send ten Spanish horsemen, provided with muskets, to accompany us on this expedition." Here the Governor interrupted Pachiekè, who was proceeding to say more, and with an ill-timed joke evaded his threatening speech. "When," said he, "with a very long spear in your hands, and paints of various colours on your faces, you make the plain tremble under your horses' feet, and fill the air with the horrible braying of trumpets, in good sooth, you think yourselves mighty heroes." As he spoke this with mimicking gestures, appearing to ridicule the method of warfare practised by the Abipones, extreme indignation was excited amongst the bystanders. Whilst the rest were expressing their resentment, one, more forward than the rest, exclaimed, "Take care how you make a jest of our horns and trumpets, the clangor of which has, for so many years, caused every limb of you Spaniards to tremble." The horrid murmuring of the whole people and their threatening looks portended danger to the Vice-Governor, who, to conciliate their enraged minds, adroitly altered his tone, commending the Abipones, instead of satirizing them, as I

warned him by signs. To flattery he added plenty of promises, (to which he never stood,) saying that another expedition against the Guaranies prevented him from giving them satisfaction at that time, but that as soon as the present war was finished, he would go out against the Mocobios, with some companies of horse. Having said this, he hastened back to the city under pretext of business, his coming having served no other end than that of irritating still further the minds of the Indians. No one could suggest any remedy for the afflicted colony which seemed sinking to ruin: amid continual attacks from the savages, or the apprehension of them, years passed away—years barren of comfort, but fruitful of misfortunes. Yet still more pernicious than any foreign foe was the unfortunate society of Debayakaikin's Abipones, both to the improvement and domestic affairs of the town; induced by their examples, or relying on their support, our Yaaukanigas frequently dared to make inroads into the lands of Cordoba, Sta. Fè, and Asumpcion, where, though they committed no slaughter, they carried off droves of horses. With still greater boldness, they annoyed the neighbouring towns of the Guaranies, by whose liberality chiefly they were clothed and fed. These predatory incursions we condemned,

forbade, and lamented, but had not the power to prevent. They never did any mischief, however, to the territory of Corrientes. After the departure of Debayakaikin, many of his hordesmen remained in the town of St. Ferdinand, others joined the horde of Oaherkaikin, who had long established himself in a neighbouring plain, almost in sight of the town. No tears can sufficiently deplore, nor words express the injury which the morals of the Yaaukanigas sustained from the vicinity of these plunderers, and the mischief they did to our little estate. One of this savage rabble, more rapacious than the rest, made greater havock amongst the herds than any tiger, and no means of restraining his robberies could be adopted, whilst our Yaaukanigas, ever friendly to Oaherkaikin, sometimes abetted, sometimes concealed them. The Vice-Governor, when informed of the affair, durst not utter a word of reproof to this chief of the plunderers, who was impudently sitting by his side in our house, but endeavoured to conciliate him by civil speeches. If Spanish generals, accompanied by soldiers, are dumb through fear, when they ought to reproach the savages with their wickedness, who can wonder if the Fathers, destitute of all human aid, and given up to the power of the savages, were afraid to

treat their errors with too much severity? Yet despising death we overcame fear, and when any thing improper met our observation, reprehended it, if reprehension seemed likely to be of any avail. Take one example out of many which might be related of the men of our order. Father Klein, with his usual fearlessness, advised a young man of high family amongst the Yaaukanigas to refrain from incursions against the Spaniards, when the ferocious youth dashed a club at his head with such force that he fell swooning to the ground covered with his own blood. Not one of the Spaniards who were there, not one of the Abipones, durst lay hands on the perpetrator of this sacrilegious blow: he went unpunished. Another Yaaukaniga struck the same Father with his fist, crying, "It is a fable what you tell us about a God who created all things."

The estate was exhausted by the continual rapacity of these plunderers, and scarcely contained oxen sufficient to feed the Indians for two months. I declared in presence of the Vice-Governor that we should soon be forced to desert the colony from want of cattle, but he entreated me not to think of such a thing, saying, "If you depart, and suffer the Yaaukanigas to do the same, the malicious will say you have done so with the intention of involving us Spa-

niards anew in the calamities of war." "No one," replied I, "would be so foolish as to credit such a calumny. We cannot confine the savages within the limits of a little town, nor restrain them from their habit of wandering, unless we have plenty of provision at home." The Vice-Governor, convinced, or more probably alarmed by this speech, promised many things for the preservation of the colony, and had his powers corresponded to his wishes, this excellent man would doubtless have fulfilled his promises. The Provincial, informed by me of the ruin which threatened the colony from want of cattle, immediately sent me a thousand oxen, for the support of the Indians: by his liberality, and the supplies of the Guarany towns, an estate was founded on the opposite shore of the Parana, which, not being exposed to predatory incursions, abounded in cattle of every kind in the space of a few years.

One thing is certain, that this colony of Yaaukanigas was not preserved by the support of the Spaniards, but chiefly by the vigilance and industry of the Jesuits, and that it was little indebted for assistance to the city of Corrientes, which, on the other hand, derived much advantage from it, remaining unmolested, from the time of its commencement, by the inroads of the savages dwelling in Chaco.

Moreover the Corrientines, reduced almost to desperation by long war, were enabled to build ships, and waggons on the opposite shore of the river on which our colony stood, and which abounds in most excellent trees, and to enrich themselves by commerce without danger. In the year 1767, when we returned to Europe, the number of Christian Yaaukanigas was two hundred, the rest having died of small-pox and other diseases. The survivors, exasperated at the Spaniards on account of our banishment, burnt the church and the houses of the Fathers to ashes, deserted the colony they had inhabited for seventeen years, and returned to their ancient retreats and their old habits of plundering. A priest of the order of St. Francis, who had been substituted in our stead, scarce preserved his life by flying to the city. So unfortunate was the event of a colony that had cost us so much labour and misery, an event highly pernicious to the Corrientines and other Spaniards, against whom the Indians resumed their arms, soon after quitting the colony.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE ORIGIN AND SITUATION OF A COLONY OF ABIPONES NAMED FROM S. CARLOS AND THE ROSARY.

That the corruption of one thing is the generation of another, and that insects are created from putrid substances is affirmed by some naturalists and denied by others, but certainly such was the origin of this colony; for it was composed of Abipones who had deserted religion, and the other towns. Weary of Christian discipline, and of the inactivity of peace, they for some time vexed the territories of the Spaniards and Guaranies with slaughter and rapine: but seeing themselves threatened, both behind and before, with avenging arms, and being unable to discover any place of retreat where they might conceal themselves from Ychoalay, they provided for their safety by artifice, since they could not secure it by force of arms. Three orators were sent to Asumpcion to petition, in the name of the rest, for a colony, and priests to instruct them in religion. The Governor, Martinez Fontez, granted the request of these wily legates with the utmost willingness, flattering himself that he should gain great

favour with the King by founding this colony. Fulgentio de Yegros, a Paraguayrian commander, wonderfully approved the Governor's purpose, urged the execution of it, and bestowed a great many caresses on the Abiponian deputies. The other, more prudent Spaniards strongly opposed the design, truly observing: "These rascally Abipones, the dregs of the whole nation, come hither from the fear of punishment, not from the desire of embracing religion: it is not a colony, but an asylum where they may commit crimes with impunity, that they seek amongst the Spaniards; and even if this were not the case, a province so indigent in every respect as this, cannot afford the supplies necessary for founding and preserving such a colony." The same was the opinion of all the Jesuits. Eager for glory, the Governor turned a deaf ear to all these remonstrances. By his order the people were convoked to the market-place of the city, that each might voluntarily contribute something for the colony, according to his means. Some promised sheep and oxen; others horses, or Paraguay tea; the less opulent, axes, knives, and the other articles of domestic furniture: and were there not as wide a difference between gifts and promises, as there is between words and deeds, the colony would have been amply provided for. But, to

use a Spanish proverb, *mucho era el ruido, pero pocas las nueces:* great was the noise, but few were the nuts. Many evaded the performance of their promises altogether; others impudently sent aged cows; lame, lean, and dying horses; old, bare, and diseased sheep; and every thing else in the same style. Many of those persons whom the Governor employed in collecting or keeping the cattle and other things, were deficient either in fidelity or in diligence, reserving some for their own private use, and exchanging the better ones, which they kept to themselves, for others of less value. It therefore is not to be wondered at that the whole of Paraguay did not contain a more indigent or calamitous colony, of which I, who was forced to struggle, for two years, with extreme poverty, and the insolence of these savages, had full and ocular demonstration.

The Abipones, solicitous for their security above all things, themselves pointed out a situation for the colony, seventy leagues south of Asumpcion, four leagues distant from the western shore of the Paraguay, and beset with woods, rivers, and marshes, which rendered it difficult of access to the Spaniards, who had to cross that vast river whenever they approached it from their own city. This plain is called

Timbò in the Guarany tongue, from a tree of that name which abounds here; by some it has been named La Herradura, or the horse-shoe, because the river Paraguay, being forced into a curve by the interjection of an island, presents, in this place, the appearance of a horse-shoe. Besides this, two tolerably large rivers, (both having salt waters,) flow past the spot where the colony stood, and uniting, in sight of it, into one channel, form a large lake which afterwards discharges itself into the Paraguay. After a long drought, you can seldom find any fresh water, or any of the larger kind of fish, in this labyrinth of waters; innumerable crocodiles, by which the fish are either consumed or kept away, are every where to be seen. In the desire of concealment, however, the Abipones pitched upon this incommodious situation, which the Tobas lay claim to: and the Spaniards willingly ratified their choice, because their enemies, the Mocobios and Tobas, used generally to cross the Paraguay, in this place, when they made their excursions against the Paraguayrians.

In this sequestered place, the Abipones were ordered to remain, till things being properly settled, and priests appointed, a little town should be built there. In the mean time, oxen

were given them for their support, yet they still continued to drive vast herds of horses from the estates of Sta. Fè and St. Jeronymo: but Ychoalay, accompanied with a troop of horse, surprized this horde of thieves by night, and carried off all the horses they had plundered; irritated by which nocturnal assault, they industriously made up for the loss by repeated rapine. Fulgentio de Yegros visited these Abipones with a numerous band of soldiers, for the purpose of making a dwelling-house for the expected priests. After staying two days there, and consuming an incredible number of the oxen intended for the use of the colony, the soldiers built only two little huts, so narrow and low, and so badly constructed, of wood and mud, that the Governor himself pronounced them absolutely uninhabitable.

The Jesuit Contucci, at that time Provincial and Visitor of Paraguay, being ordered, in the King's name, to appoint priests for the new colony, after consulting those persons who were best acquainted with the affairs of the province, conferred this charge upon me, on account of my acquaintance with the Abiponian tongue. I was therefore called to the Guarany town of Sta. Rosa, where the Provincial resided, on business of the colony, and

soon afterwards ordered to hasten to the metropolis, where I had to wait from the 28th of August till the 24th of November, whilst the Governor was preparing every thing necessary for beginning the colony.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE COLONY.

The Governor distinguished the colony he was founding with the name of S. Carlos and the Rosary, that he might at the same time show his piety to the Virgin Mary, and ingratiate himself with Carlos the Third, King of Spain. He and I embarked on the 24th of November, 1763, and were saluted with guns on the banks of the Paraguay. Our company consisted of four hundred provincial soldiers; Fulgentio de Yegros conducted the cavalry by land, and the rest of the infantry were distributed into three ships and came with us. We went on shore every night, and at mid-day also, whenever we found a convenient landing-place. The Paraguay abounds in shoals and hidden rocks, yet the danger arising from them was not so great as the inconvenience occasioned by innumerable gnats, during our ten days' voyage. Fulgentio de Yegros, with his company of horse, awaited us at a place called Passo del Timbò. On our landing, crowds of Abipones swam from the opposite shore, which they inhabited, to salute us. Some hundred

oxen, with the horses of the Spaniards, were sent over to us on the other side of the river. We spent three days in the same place, engaged in the business of crossing, and then pursued our voyage. About sun-set, a tempest arose, with loud thunder and stormy wind. Though we had entered the lake which serves as a port there, we were miserably tost about by the waves for many hours. This tempest was succeeded by heavy rain, which lasted three days, and confined us within the narrow limits of the ship; during this interval, we amused ourselves with watching the huge crocodiles that surrounded the vessel. The spot appointed for the colony was a league distant from the port; thither I went, on foot, and alone, from eagerness to take a view of the situation. The whole plain was deluged with water. Having taken an entire survey, I returned to the ship, and informed the Governor that the situation appointed for the colony appeared to me to be fitter for frogs than men, and that no kind of good grain was produced in the country.

Next day, leaving guards for the security of the ship, we rode out to the place in question. The small hut which Fulgentio de Yegros had constructed for the two priests, was at first sight pronounced uninhabitable by the Gover-

nor, under whose inspection another, somewhat larger, but in no other respect superior, was hastily built by the soldiers. Europeans will not be displeased to hear how these huts are constructed. Stakes are driven very deep into the ground, and reeds or withes fastened to them with twigs or thongs of leather. The empty spaces between each row of reeds are filled up with pieces of wood, or small bricks, on to which mud, well worked up with straw, and cow's dung, is plastered. The Spaniards call this sort of fabric a French wall, *(tapia Françesa)* and always adopt it when stones or bricks are scarce. If it is properly made, and whitewashed with lime or tobati, it will last, and can hardly be distinguished from a common wall. The grassy ground is the floor of the apartment. In this manner the cottages and chapels were generally constructed in the colonies of the savages. You shall now hear how they are roofed. The trunks of the caranday palms cut in half and hollowed out serve instead of slates or tiles. Frequently a roof is made with bundles of long dry grass tied to reeds placed underneath, in the same manner as, in other places, thatch is made of straw, which is not to be had in Paraguay; for the reapers cut down nothing but the ear of wheat, afterwards burning the stalk or stubble, the ashes of

which serve instead of manure to fertilize the soil. Sometimes houses are covered with bundles of dry grass, rolled in soft mud, cemented together, and thus secure from being set on fire by the burning arrows of the savages. In the colony of the Rosary I found that roofs of this kind, though they afford some protection against fire, are not of the least use in excluding rain: for the mud with which the dry grass is plastered, gets so much softened by long rain, and affords such free access to heavy showers, that it seems to rain harder within doors than without. In short, the house built for me by the soldiers was hardly of any use: for the thongs, which they had formed of wet raw hides, soon putrefying, the reeds and mud plastered on them fell off, leaving the stakes quite bare; so that my hut presented the appearance of a bird-coop, but was afterwards laboriously repaired and rendered habitable by myself and my companion. I strengthened that side of the wall which looks towards the stormy south, with a plaster composed of mud, and the blood of oxen, which repels water like pitch. The chapel was very small, and entirely unornamented: some of my own handy-work imparted a little degree of elegance to the altar.

The palisade of our house, which is necessary in every colony to defend it against the assaults

of the savages, had been very negligently made by the soldiers, who were in such a hurry to get home that they left nothing finished. The Governor* was equally desirous to return to the city: he could take no rest here: thick swarms of gnats tormented him with their stings; but a still worse grievance was the anxiety that preyed upon his mind lest they should be surprized by a sudden attack of the savages. Horsemen were therefore kept watching day and night, and at the door of his own hut he stationed a foot company of guards, besides four cannon; in the hut itself he kept forty large muskets, and some smaller ones, ready to be fired in a moment. So that he distrusted those very Abipones for whom he was founding the colony; and the feeling was mutual; for they, ever suspicious of the friendship of the Spaniards, thought themselves justified in their fears since the Governor had brought so many soldiers, and so few oxen to feed them on. "What need," said they, "of four hundred soldiers? Had no hostilities been intended against us, one hundred would have been more than sufficient. If he was resolved upon building a colony in this place, why did he not send more than three hundred oxen? The Spaniards will consume these, and what will they leave for us?" That they might not

therefore be exposed to the treachery of the Spaniards, they pitched their tents three miles distant from us, in a place with a wood on one side, a river on the other, and a mound in front. It was in vain that I endeavoured to argue them out of these foolish fears, and I was equally unsuccessful in my attempts to tranquillize the suspicious mind of the Governor; who took every fly for an enemy, as what I am going to relate will sufficiently prove. Six Yaaukaniga youths came from St. Ferdinand to see the new colony. At my desire they immediately accompanied me unarmed to the Governor, and kissed his hands with great civility and respect. He, terrified at the appearance of these new guests, whom he mistook for enemies, or emissaries of the enemy, ordered all the guards to stand ready in arms, and after passing the night in the greatest anxiety, purified his soul by confessing to me early in the morning, and receiving the sacrament at my hands. On leaving the chapel, he informed me that he was going to depart immediately with all his people; and before noon, having hastily settled his affairs, he set off on what appeared more like a flight than a journey. The Abipones, receiving intelligence of this, flew from their tents, and hastened with all speed to the harbour to take leave of the Governor, whom they found already

seated in the vessel, and who, interpreting this officious journey as a hostile pursuit, ordered the ship to be put from shore in such a hurry, that he left behind him a waggon which was to have been carried back to the city. A brave man in other respects, but a novice amongst the American savages, and well aware of the unsteadiness of their friendship, and the uncertainty of their faith, he may be deemed excusable in preferring fear and caution to risking his life.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

EXTREME INDIGENCE OF THE COLONY, AND ITS VARIOUS CALAMITIES.

THE Rosary, as it had been unaptly named, was, from its very outset, the most thorny of all colonies. All the Spaniards being departed with the Governor, I was left entirely in the power of the Abipones, and of the hostile savages who infested the neighbourhood; yet, depending on the protection of the Almighty alone, I never felt myself more secure. There was no colony of Christians within thirty leagues of us, from which we could expect succour against the hostile troops of Mocobios, Tobas, and Guaycurus, whose hordes were so near that the smoke of them could be discerned from our colony. My Abipones for some time obstinately refused to remove their tents to the situation appointed for the colony. The sudden departure of the Governor was the origin of this refusal and of a hundred suspicions,—"The Spaniards departed to-day," said they, "perhaps in the intention of returning to-morrow to murder us, when they hear that we are settled in the open plain." Seeing no houses built for

them, as usual in other colonies, they took occasion to suspect every thing that was bad. Three days I spent unaccompanied, at the end of which, by much persuasion, I prevailed upon the Abipones to quit their retreat, and remove to the place where I was. They learnt from their spies that the Spaniards were at a great distance, and being delivered from their suspicions at length became more tranquil.

Wherever I turned my eyes I found necessaries wanting for myself and the Indians, without which life could not be supported nor the colony preserved. Almost all the sheep which the Spaniards contributed were useless from age and disease, and the falling off of their wool; indeed most of them died whilst the Governor was there, so that all prospect of obtaining wool from them to clothe the Indians entirely disappeared. The very lean and indifferent beef which was our principal and almost only food, afforded the Indians daily subject of complaint. The oxen, which were sent from the remote estates of the Spaniards, at intervals of a year, arrived emaciated, and half dead from the length of the journey, and, as no others remained, were immediately slain, without being left time to fatten. Their flesh, either boiled or roasted, was devoid of all taste and moisture, and better adapted to disgust than refresh the

stomach. For my part, I loathed it so much, that during many months I tasted no other food than boiled cows' feet, though destitute of bread or any vegetables.

Fulgentio de Yegros had established a little estate for the use of the colony on the opposite shore of the river, but its pastures were by no means fertile, and so poorly was it furnished with cattle, that they scarce sufficed to feed the Abipones; consequently very few could be left to breed. The man sent by Fulgentio to guard the cattle was an infamous wretch, composed of nothing but fraud and falsehood, who used to slay the fattest cows for his own use, and sell the fat and suet to the Spaniards, whilst we in the colony were suffering the greatest want of both. He also fatigued the horses of the colony by hunting with them, or lending them to others for the same purpose, as if they were entirely at his disposal. I often accused him to the Governor, but he was never punished, though convicted of innumerable thefts: The man whom Fulgentio appointed to supersede him was honest, but not quite sane: he was agitated by continual terrors, and wherever he was, imagined that stones were being thrown at him by some unknown hand, even in the middle of the day. What diligence or accuracy could be expected from such a person in ma-

naging the estate? Our never having a proper guard for the cattle was the chief origin of all our miseries: for the Abipones think nothing wanting to their felicity if they have plenty of good meat, but if that be not the case will never rest easy in the colony.

It may also be reckoned amongst our misfortunes, that as the estate was on the opposite shore of the Paraguay, we had to convey across that vast river all the oxen necessary for our support. A ship, strong horses, dexterous horsemen, and much industry were requisite to effect that without the loss of many oxen.

Maize, and various kinds of beans, roots, and melons, serve the Indians as a seasoning, or substitute for meat: I therefore exhorted the Abipones to cultivate the ground, but agricultural implements were wanting; we had scarcely any oxen fit for the plough; and were even unprovided with a supply of seed for sowing. Some bushels of maize were sent from the city, but they had been terribly gnawed by the worms; also a sack of beans, in coming from thence, had been wetted in the river from the carelessness of the sailors, and had already pushed out shoots. Who would believe that the neighbouring savages, our former enemies, supplied us with various kinds of seeds, which we had so long and vainly sought from the

Spaniards? The country itself, as I declared at first sight, was unfavourable to plants, because it abounded in chalk. After much rain, it bore the appearance of a lake—when the waters subsided it became as hard and dry as a stone. Notwithstanding this, the Abipones did plough and sow great part of it, but they lost their labour; in the woods, however, where the soil is more fertile, and the sun's heat kept off by the shade of the trees, they reaped an abundant and easily-earned harvest of various fruits. I found the soil extremely favourable to the tobacco which I planted, but could never find a situation fit for sowing cotton. The alfaroba was only to be found in distant forests, but the want of it was supplied by abundance of honey. Other fruits, which grow quite common elsewhere, are extremely scarce here. The country near the shore abounds in stags, deer, and emus, the neighbouring rivers in crocodiles, water-wolves, and capibaris, but are mostly destitute of fish. It is a remarkable circumstance; that the river near the colony swarmed, for some days, with every kind of fish, which were easily caught with the hand, as they swiftly hurried down the stream; they are thought to have been conveyed into this river by intermediate pools, from the Rio Grande, at the time of the annual flood.

But it is quite clear to me, that the penury of the colony was not so much owing to the nature of the situation, as to the indigence of the founders. The other Fathers, who were sent to instruct the savages, received from the Governors and opulent citizens a plentiful supply of linen and woollen cloth, glass-beads, knives, scissars, rings, needles, hooks, ear-rings, &c. baits by which both the eyes and minds of the savages are taken. When I set off to found the colony, not so much as a pin was given me in the city of Asumpcion. The Spaniards of Sta. Fè and St. Iago supplied the Fathers with choice horses when they went to a new colony. The Spaniards of Asumpcion, on the contrary, robbed me of four excellent horses, for which I was indebted to the kindness of the Jesuits in the Guarany towns: yet the Governor neither made any enquiry after the thieves, nor indemnified me for the loss. Great scarcity almost always prevailed in the colony, because the supplies, which the Spaniards engaged themselves to pay, were very seldom and very sparingly sent, or, being brought by sailors, were long in reaching us, or were destroyed on the way from want of care. No assistance could be expected from the Guarany towns, which were so beneficial to other colonies, both on account of their distance and the calamities of that period. The

small remainder of those little gifts, with which the liberality of my friends had supplied me, I used, in my distress, for the purpose of allaying the discontent of the Abipones, who had been induced by the promises of the Spaniards, and the hopes of bettering their fortune, to assemble in this colony, where they justly lamented to find themselves deluded, and in want of every thing.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CONTINUAL TUMULTS OF WAR.

To our other miseries were added perpetual war-like commotions. The new Governor, Martinez, to ingratiate himself with the King, resolved upon sending two hundred soldiers against the neighbouring hordes of Mocobios and Tobas, out of those four hundred which had been chosen to found the colony. On his consulting with me, I dissuaded him from an expedition, the event of which appeared so uncertain, lest the new colony, which was but poorly stocked with inhabitants, should be involved in war, and perish in its infancy. With the same ardour I recommended it to my Abipones religiously to maintain peace with all; they, however, never had either power or inclination to continue in a state of quiescence. One tumult succeeded to another. Soon after the colony was founded, Ychoalay came, and in a friendly manner desired restitution of the horses lately taken from him. Enraged at receiving a refusal, he set off, with a chosen band of his people, to recover them by force. My Abipones, rendered obstinate by their inveterate hatred to Ychoalay, determined to

withstand him to the utmost. Some employed themselves in conveying the horses to a place of greater safety, that they might not be seized by the enemy; whilst others roamed up and down the woods, seeking honey to make mead. I, meantime, was a prey to anxious cares, ignorant what course to pursue when the town should be attacked. Ychoalay, formerly so much my friend, was now become the most dreadful of enemies. "It would be wrong," thought I, "to take up arms against one who is only coming to recover his own; but if, as is most likely, victory declares in his favour, and he puts to death every inhabitant that comes in his way, unless I discharge upon Ychoalay all the lead and gunpowder I have in the house, my Abipones will suspect me of having acted in collusion with him, and will pierce me with spears and arrows." Suspended by these reflections, I stuck, as it were, between the hammer and the anvil, and resolved to do what should seem most advisable at the time.

But all this danger was warded from us by a gracious Providence: for as Ychoalay was quickly travelling towards us, he fell in with a numerous horde of hostile Nakaiketergche Abipones. A sharp skirmish ensued, which did not terminate without wounds and slaughter on both sides. Ychoalay had ten of his men wounded;

and, that they might be the sooner and more certainly cured, hastened home, omitting the intended attack upon our colony, which was construed into a mark of fear by the inhabitants, and accordingly celebrated as a triumph with songs and drinking. The survivors of that routed horde took refuge, part with us, part in the town of St. Ferdinand, and showing their unhealed wounds, endeavoured, by that sight, to inflame their companions, who needed no such incitement, to speedy and effectual vengeance. Almost all immediately conspired against Ychoalay. A great company was formed of Yaaukaniga and Nakaiketergehe Abipones, who all set off to the town of St. Jeronymo, and that the blow might descend upon Ychoalay with the greater certainty from its being unforeseen, they gave out that their object was to hunt horses in the southern plains. But all these hopes and machinations came to nothing. By those very people, whom it was their intent to surprize and utterly exterminate, they were themselves surprized, partly slain, and partly put to flight. For, near St. Jeronymo, whilst, having left their saddles and supernumerary horses in a place called *Tiger's Cave*, and got their faces ready painted, they were meditating an assault upon the town, they fell in with Ychoalay, accompanied by a great number of

his own Riikahes, of Christian Mocobios, and of Spanish horsemen, all delighted to have in their presence those whom they had that day set out to seek and slay in their retreats. Ychoalay could easily have destroyed this multitude of enemies, had they not preferred flight to combat. The fugitives owed their lives to the swiftness of their horses, to the ruggedness of the ways, and the lurking-holes of the forests; many however were slain, taken, and wounded by the pursuers. Ychoalay drove them before him to the town of St. Ferdinand, and being rendered formidable by the number of his fellow-soldiers, spread terror on all sides. The Nakaiketergehes, conspired to his destruction, though they saw their last efforts unaccompanied with success, conceived new hatred against him; and as in repeated skirmishes they failed to take away his life, consoled themselves with plundering him of innumerable horses. It cannot be matter of surprize that this nation entertained hostile feelings to Ychoalay, the slayer of their chief Cacique Debayakaikin, whose four sons dwelt in their colony, and whose hordesmen and fellow-soldiers, all but a very few of them had been.

Beside these intestine wars, the proximity of the Mocobios, Tobas, and Guaycurus, was always dangerous, and often exceedingly preju-

dicial to us. These savage nations, distinguished by their numbers and their power of doing mischief, contended that the plain which the colony occupied belonged to them, and had never been inhabited by Abipones. They feared and suspected the inhabitants of a colony which they knew to be in subjection to the Spaniards, and left no stone unturned to drive them from their new situation, which they endeavoured to effect sometimes by arts, sometimes by arms. Pretending peace and friendship, crowds of them came to visit our town, seemingly for the sake of civility, and were hospitably received by us, entertained for some days, and treated with little presents and plenty of beef. But abusing our kindness, though closely watched by me, they availed themselves of the opportunity to observe the number of inhabitants fit to bear arms, the pastures of the horses, and all the ways and means of access; aided by which knowledge, they afterwards flew, whenever it suited them, to alarm the colony, and to plunder horses, though this our vigilance generally prevented them from accomplishing. The frequent and secret hostilities of the savages caused us an immense deal of trouble; as we were often obliged to pass the night awake and in arms, for fear of the Oaekakalots, who, unlike other tribes, made their attacks in the night; and as

no one could go out to hunt, or perform any other business, in the remoter plains or woods, on account of their being infested by the savages. That they might not start, on a sudden, from a neighbouring wood, and surprize the colony, I had an observatory erected in our court-yard, which proved of signal utility. Let me now relate some of the attempts made upon us by our savage neighbours.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

VARIOUS INCURSIONS OF THE MOCOBIOS AND TOBAS.

All places being full of peril and fear, and exposed to the machinations of the enemy, many of the Abipones, weary of a life embittered in so many ways, crossed the river with their families, and went to the estate of Fulgentio de Yegros, who received them with great pleasure, and usefully employed them in his service. The women were occupied in shearing sheep and spinning the wool; the men in guarding cattle, and other rural tasks; receiving, as the best recompense that could be given them, abundance of beef. Very few, meantime, remained with me in the colony. This was thought a good opportunity for an attack by the Mocobios and their allies, and indeed our destruction would have been inevitable, had I not providentially abstained from my usual custom of sleeping in the afternoon. The particulars of the affair deserve to be related:—I had gone on foot, and alone, to the bank of the river to try the new boats and rowers, and that I did not fall asleep on my return, after being fatigued with three hours' walking in the heat of

the sun, can only be attributed to heavenly interposition. At two o'clock in the afternoon, a boy who was sitting on the steps of the observatory suddenly exclaimed, "The savages are coming!" As I was walking in the yard, I spied a troop of Mocobios, who presented themselves in the market-place, armed and painted, as for a battle, disposed in regular ranks, and unaccompanied with any women or children; all which betokened hostile intentions. The boy I mentioned, with six old women and a lame Abipon, were the only persons that remained with me in the town. Snatching up my arms, and guarding the door, I performed the part both of commander and garrison; and, little as I am, was more than sufficient to terrify so many horsemen. As soon as ever they saw me present the musket they turned their backs, and slowly receding through the market-place, sat down in a little wood near the tents of the Abipones. Aware that the Americans supply by craftiness any defect in courage, and that they often renew the attack when their adversaries imagine them completely intimidated, and on their return home, I remained armed in the same place, and kept an eye on their motions. When a quarter of an hour had elapsed in this manner, I approached the Mocobios on foot, and with no one but the boy for my companion, to ascer-

tain whether they were to be considered as friends or foes. I accosted them unarmed, but received very laconic replies to the questions I put them; and their sullen and threatening looks discovered that they were ill-disposed towards us. As we were conversing, a quantity of smoke rose up in that part of the shore where the Spaniards cross the Paraguay; being asked by the Mocobian Cacique whence or from whom I thought that fire proceeded; I replied from the Spaniards; and that I was in expectation of two hundred soldiers, whom the Governor had promised to send to build houses in the colony. Struck with this news, the savages were afraid to execute what they had planned to our destruction, fearing that any acts of hostility perpetrated by them would be avenged by the Spanish horsemen, whom they thought approaching. At this conjuncture a cloud of dust appeared in that direction by which the Mocobios had come, and by the shining of their spears, we knew the savage horsemen; perceiving which, the Mocobios instantly leapt on to their horses; an additional proof of their evil intentions. The boy pulled my gown, saying, "Let us go, Father, lest we be taken;" and indeed I began to entertain the same apprehension myself. Civilly taking leave of the Mocobios, I returned home with slow steps, to avoid betray-

ing my suspicions, and resuming my weapons, posted myself at the door, and awaited the event.

Without delay a numerous company of Tobas, headed by Cacique Keebetavalkin, drew out in the market-place. All were laden with arms of every description, and painted with dark colours; but without saying a word about the occasion of their coming, they sent their horses to pasture, and sat down to pass the night with the troop of Mocobios. I approached, and accosted these new comers, unfurnished with weapons of any sort, bearing myself towards them altogether as towards friends, though they could not, in any light, be accounted other than enemies, certain to do us a mischief, unless we conducted ourselves towards them with great liberality and caution. I took care to have an ox immediately slain for their supper, from the same motive that one would stroke an unruly horse, or throw a piece of meat to a surly mastiff. Not to be quite unprepared for treachery on their part, we passed a sleepless night, keeping the strictest watch both with our eyes and ears, and holding our weapons in readiness to repel violence were it offered. I performed divine service early in the morning, without ringing of bells, and with the greatest quietness, lest the savages, discovering that I was engaged at the

altar, and being thus delivered from their apprehension of the musket, should attempt hostilities against us with impunity. All my precautions, however, proved unavailing; for a crowd of savages surrounded me as I was pronouncing the formula of the divine consecration. A Mocobian juggler stole in first by a door adjoining the altar. After standing awhile behind me, he jumped back several times to his companions, who were near the door, making mimic gestures, and tossing about his arms in a ridiculous manner. They conversed together for some time by signs. Imagine what must have been the state of my mind in this interim—I expected death every moment.

Having accurately performed divine service to the end, I presented the savages, as if they had politely come to visit me, with any little gifts that were at hand, but failed to elicit from them what their intentions were, though I could not but suspect them to be of the very worst nature; for they examined every corner of my house, impudently attempted, in my presence, to pull up the stakes with which it was surrounded, and tried whether they could burst open the wooden door of the chapel with their shoulders. Meanwhile, I smilingly looked on, and took especial care to prevent the suspicions of my mind from appearing in my countenance;

knowing that the greatest coward is inspired with courage if he perceives himself an object of terror. I boasted of our intrepidity and skill in archery, displayed a store of arms, and a variety of leaden bullets, and descanted upon the wonderful power of the musket, which reaches the most distant objects, and penetrates and demolishes the hardest substances. The Governor, on leaving the colony, had given me, for the defence of the inhabitants, one of those very small cannon which are fixed to the prows of ships; to load this, he had furnished me with eight charges of gunpowder, fifteen bullets, but only one iron ball, weighing scarce half a pound, which, to deprive them of all inclination to assault the colony, I gave to the savages to handle and look at. When they came to visit me in my apartment, "Oh, how heavy it is," they exclaimed: "what a hole it would make in a man's body!"

By these artifices, I induced the Mocobios and Tobas to give up their intention of destroying the colony, or rather, as the event discovered, to defer it till a better opportunity. During many days, which they passed in sight of us, in the same spot they had at first occupied, they daily explored the adjacent pastures, plains, and woods; not one of the few Abipones that remained at home presuming to offer the least

opposition, though perfectly aware of their dangerous intentions. Meantime, though suspected of treachery, they revelled like Bacchanals at our expense; oxen being at my orders slain on purpose for them, lest, on failure of other food, ourselves should be devoured by these cannibals. A fortunate event at length delivered us from these hateful guests, and freed us from continual anxiety and suspicion. About sun-set, the whole plain resounded with a sudden tumult, no one doubted but that the enemies were approaching; and I myself believed we should be presently attacked by a vast company of Mocobios and Tobas, of which those that had stayed so long with us were only the spies and forerunners. But this was a false alarm; for when the dust, which had concealed them from us, dispersed itself, we discovered ten of our Abipones, who were bringing about two thousand horses which they had plundered from Ychoalay's estate, to revenge the death of one of their countrymen who had fallen by his hand in a recent skirmish. The Cacique of the Mocobios, seeing so large a booty, doubted not but that the owner was pursuing the plunderers, and fearful that by remaining he should be involved in the conflict with Ychoalay, and drawn into a participation of the danger, hastened home next morning as

soon as it was light. The ill-will that he bore towards us was manifested by his parting speech to the Abiponian women: "If," said he, "you value your lives, your liberties, and your children, desert this colony forthwith. The land you occupy is not your own, nor will we suffer you to usurp it. It will be stained with your blood, unless you depart voluntarily." This first visit of the Mocobios and Tobas was a prelude and preparation to that grand expedition which these savages, in conjunction with the Oaekakalots, undertook, some months after, to the destruction of our colony. Of this subject we shall treat more fully after having made some premises.

CHAPTER XL.

SMALL-POX THE ORIGIN OF MANY CALAMITIES AND BLOODY ATTACKS.

When all the Mocobios and most of the Tobas were departed, Keebetavalkin, the Cacique of the latter, remained some months with us, till he died of the small-pox, after having received baptism from me; a circumstance which stirred up the Toba nation against us, and was the occasion of my receiving a bloody wound. I shall give the particulars of the whole affair. Our Abipones had caught the small-pox in Fulgentio's estate, and on their return to the colony infected all the other inhabitants, excepting only those who had already undergone that disease: and it may be looked upon as a great blessing that a disorder, generally fatal to the Americans, proved so in this case to only twenty out of nearly three hundred who took the infection, though it raged from the 14th of May, till November. What trouble it occasioned me, who was obliged to perform the double part of physician and priest, exceeds belief. Nearly all my Abipones were still in a state of barbarism—either alien to the rites of the church, or

impious deserters and despisers of them. Hence day and night I was filled with anxiety, that if the medicines I administered failed to prevent death, I might at least, by sacred rites, endow the souls of my patients with a blessed immortality; a matter of infinite art and difficulty. For, alarmed at the death of an old woman, the first that fell victim to the disease, all but a very few fled from the colony, vainly endeavouring to preserve their lives in remote recesses. Some crossed the Rio Grande, travelled to a distance of twenty leagues, and left to themselves, destitute of all aid and medicine, every one recovered. I was thus separated from most part of the colonists, being ignorant of their place of concealment, and consequently unable to approach them without guides, which were not to be procured. Some were only four leagues distance from the colony; the followers of Oahari only one; and these two hordes I was daily obliged to visit, with extreme difficulty, on account of the rivers and marshes that were to be crossed, and imminent danger from wild beasts, and wandering savages. To provide both for the minds and bodies of these wretches, I had to administer their food and medicine with my own hands, and to explain to them the heads of religion, that they might be in a fit state for baptism, to receive

which, it was only with the utmost difficulty that they could be persuaded, entertaining a notion, common to all savages, of its causing death. To recall apostates to repentance who had repudiated their legitimate wives, and abjured religion, was a still more arduous business. Yet to show you how powerfully the compassion of God was exerted on this occasion, none of them departed this life without receiving baptism, except one woman, who, when first attacked by the disorder, resisted my exhortations that she would undergo that ceremony, denying that she was in any immediate danger. Having found, from experience, that the fatal period of this disorder amongst the Abipones was not in its rise, but in its progress, I thought proper to yield to the entreaties of both husband and wife, and returned home in the firm determination of soon re-visiting my patient. But, alas! scarce a quarter of an hour had elapsed, when, to my great sorrow, I heard that she had suddenly expired. My grief, however, was consoled by a sort of hope that I entertained of her eternal salvation, founded upon her having been previously fortified by religious virtues, detestation of sin, and a resolution to receive baptism whenever she felt her life in danger; all which, if sincere, enabled

me to draw happy presages for her from the boundless compassion of God.

Whilst fatigued with continual attendance upon the sick, I was frequently harassed with anxiety respecting the preservation of the colony. Daily reports were spread of the approach of the enemy, and evident marks discovered of their ambuscades, which, however, our vigilance always rendered nugatory. That above all was a memorable day to me, when, at the very time that an assault was hourly expected, a messenger came from the distant horde of the Cacique, announcing that an Abiponian woman, ill of the small-pox, had been two days in dangerous labour. For a little while I hesitated what to do. "Left," thought I, "without a defender, the house and sacred utensils will be seized upon by the enemy; I myself, if I go out into the country, shall perhaps be surprized and murdered by them, and in that case the Abipones will be destitute of all religious aid. Yet if I remain at home, the mother and her offspring will probably perish without baptism." Religious considerations at length induced me to despise the uncertain rumour of a hostile attack, for the sake of averting present and certain danger from the woman and her offspring, and I set off accordingly on

foot and unarmed. A herb which, at my advice, was administered to the woman in labour, proved efficacious beyond my hopes for whilst I was visiting the tents of the sick, she was happily delivered of a living child marked with the small-pox, which I was determined upon baptizing immediately, though the grandmother furiously opposed my design. "What," vociferated she, "will you destroy the infant as soon as it sees the light with those destructive waters?" Finding her clamours of no avail, she ran to the father, a son of Debayakaikin, who was lying in a tent hard by covered with mats, to defend him from the cold, as if *he* had just been delivered of a child, and implored him to prevent me from accomplishing my intent; but, more sensible than the rest, he replied that the will of the Father must be acquiesced in. Disappointed of the support she had expected from her son-in-law, the old woman was very near assaulting me tooth and nail; but being appeased by my gentle words and expostulations, she recovered her temper, and on my promising that the child should not be buried in the chapel in case of its death, declared that she would no longer oppose my design. The child ceased to live the same day that it received new birth at the sacred font: the mother recovered. This shows what a

prejudice the Abipones have against being buried within the sacred walls, and under a roof. Not one of the Abipones who died of the small-pox, would have consented to receive baptism, had I not appointed a burying-place in a wood for the dead at the beginning of the contagion. This I did in imitation of the Guaranies, who have cemeteries walled round, and adorned with an elegant chapel, and long rows of orange and citron trees, solely for the reception of those who die of the small-pox, lest the vapours arising from their bodies should prove a fresh source of contagion. To provide against this in our colony, I placed the cemetery in that direction from which the wind blew seldomest.

The trouble and anxiety that I underwent in continual attendance on the sick, during seven months, may easier be imagined than described. The principal and most numerous horde, that of the Cacique Oahari, which I was daily obliged to visit, could not be reached without crossing a river, both shores of which were marshy. As it was a matter of much time and labour to extricate the horses from this mud, I generally performed the journey on foot, speedily rowing myself over in a boat. This daily habit of walking, during a period of many months, rendered my feet so horny, that I was often obliged to cut pieces of skin from the soles of

them with a pair of scissars: for the leathern leggings which we wore to defend us from gnats and other insects, though extremely convenient in riding, used to rub and gall the feet of pedestrians, especially when they were hardened with perspiration. How often have I had to travel amid rain and thunder, or beneath the scorching heat of the sun, through an extensive plain, afflicted with gnats, mud, and the snares of wandering savages, that no good office might be wanting to the wretched crowd of dying Abipones, for whose sake I loved to undergo danger and fatigue!

Often, at this period, so great a number were confined to their beds by the disease, that those in health were scarce sufficient to take care of the sick, to bury the dead, and to mourn for them with the usual ceremonies. No one's death afforded greater cause for lamentation than that of the wife of Oahari, and daughter of Debayakaikin; a woman in the flower of her age, distinguished for high birth, and second to none in elegance of person and sweetness of manners. A few years before, having been dangerously bitten by a serpent, she had received baptism in the town of Concepcion. I, for my part, ascribed the death of this excellent woman not so much to the small-pox, as to a crowd of juggler-physicians, by whom

she was always surrounded, whenever I visited her tent to prepare her for death by religious aid.

Keebetavalkin, Cacique of the Tobas, and chief of all the physicians in Chaco, for some time companion of the Abipones and Mocobios, in the towns of St. Jeronymo and St. Xavier, but generally a wanderer, and now a spy upon our affairs in the name of his countrymen, spent two months amongst us with his wife and daughters. Not one of my people was attacked with the small-pox but he had this savage Æsculapius to suck and blow him; till from being continually in contact with the sick, he at length imbibed the deadly poison himself, being now at an advanced age. The sick man took care to be frequently removed from one situation to another, in the hope of relief, as dying persons in our country are wont to do. When on the point of death, he desired to be placed in a little wood near the colony; a hut was accordingly constructed for him in that place, of the boughs of trees, but so low that I could not converse with him, as he was lying down, without stooping. There being no longer any room to doubt of his extreme danger, after he had been properly instructed and prepared, I baptized him in the early part of the night, and he

expired next day some hours before noon. The ferocious Tobas, when informed of the baptism and death of their Cacique, accused me, who had administered the one, of being the cause of the other, and resolved to avenge him by arms, as I had openly foretold before we were made acquainted with the intention of the Tobas; for I knew that to these stupid savages baptism appeared more destructive than small-pox, or the most subtle poison. The affair was not confined to threats alone: a few days after, the revengeful Tobas drove away more than five hundred horses from our pastures, in the dead of the night, and would doubtless have slain some of our people had an opportunity offered. Our Abipones, complaining of this loss of horses, flew to Asumpcion, and besought the Governor to allow some Spanish horse to sally forth with them for the purpose of chastizing the plunderers; and their entreaties seemed almost needless, in requesting what had long been the Governor's own desire. From what we shall relate hereafter, you will find the small-pox to have been the occasion of mutual incursions and slaughters, and of the shedding of my blood.

CHAPTER XLI.

FOUR HUNDRED SPANISH HORSEMEN, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE ABIPONES, OVERCOME A NUMEROUS HORDE OF TOBAS.

THE Governor, Joseph Martinez Fontez, being laid up with a fit of the apoplexy, appointed Fulgentio de Yegros, an illiterate, but brave and intelligent man, to the government of the province, during the period of his indisposition. Congratulating himself upon this opportunity of conducting a successful enterprize, Fulgentio flew to our colony, accompanied by four hundred horse, in the design of undertaking a joint expedition with the Abipones against the Tobas, long so hostile to the whole province. After some days' journey, as no signs appeared of any hostile settlements, the Spaniards began to think of a return, alleging the difficulties of the road, the scarcity of provisions, and the weariness of their horses; but this unseasonable and inglorious design was openly condemned by the Abipones, who were possessed with a greater thirst for battle and revenge. Their scouts, by means of the print of horses' feet, at length discovered a populous horde of

Tobas, to which there was no access but by a narrow path through a surrounding wood. Every thing was put in readiness for the assault, and, as the event of momentous affairs is often, as Livy says, determined in a moment, the Governor resolved, with the approbation of the Abipones, to attack the savages next day about dawn, whilst they were sleeping, or half asleep, that they might be circumvented before they were aware of the enemy's approach. But as some Abipones, who had been sent forward to take a nearer view of the enemy's station, were so much retarded by the ruggedness of the way, that they did not return to the Spaniards till midnight; and as the great forest which intervened could only be crossed by the horsemen at a leisurely pace; the assault was not made till the middle of the day, and then with less than the anticipated success: for, most of the inhabitants being engaged in the chase at a distance from home, and there being consequently few to oppose the assailants, and none but a helpless crowd of women, children, and old men to be vanquished and taken captive, the fight was attended with some advantage, but with very little difficulty or glory. Terrified at the sudden attack of the Spaniards, their eyes and ears assaulted by the blaze and thundering sound of the muskets,

these wretches preferred flight to resistance. Many were intercepted and slain in their disorderly retreat by the pursuing foe; the rest endeavoured to preserve their lives in the forest; but as the Abipones examined all the recesses of the woods like hounds, very few of the Tobas escaped their eyes and hands, some being deprived of life, others of liberty.

The Spaniards, with great justice, attributed the whole success of this expedition to the Abipones, by whose sagacity the settlements of the savages had at first been discovered, and by whose celerity great numbers were prevented from escaping. I never could learn the exact number of persons that fell that day, but the captives of every description amounted to forty, mostly taken by the Abipones, who obtained besides a booty of an immense drove of horses belonging to the enemy. The Spanish soldiers, though they terrified all the savages by the firing of their muskets in this sudden attack, were able to wound but very few of them, owing to the circumstance of their having passed the preceding night, in order to be in readiness for pursuing their journey, on horseback amongst the trees; in which situation the gunpowder was moistened by the nocturnal dew, so that it was with the utmost difficulty that it

could be afterwards made to take fire. An old Toba, who had been wounded by a bullet, drove on his family before him, defending them with an uplifted spear, till he had very nearly reached the border of the wood, without any of the Spaniards daring to oppose him; but he and his people were cut to pieces by our Cacique Oahari, with a sword which he snatched from a Spaniard as it lay idle in its sheath. The wife and two daughters of the Cacique Keebetavalkin were slain in the same manner. Not one of the Spaniards was killed, or even hurt, in this chase, rather than battle. Many of them were present only to increase the number of soldiers, and to be spectators of the assault.

A Spanish boy, who had been carried away from Paraguay by the Tobas in his infancy, was set at liberty on this occasion. It is incredible how great was his abhorrence of his countrymen the Spaniards, whom he had ever considered as enemies; he was neither to be conciliated by gifts nor caresses. A Spanish woman, who was released from captivity amongst the Tobas, informed the Governor that there was a very numerous horde of Tobas, scarce two days' journey from that place; but he, disregarding the wishes of the Abipones, who urged him to attack it, alleged the weariness

of the horses and scarcity of provisions as excuses for hastening his return, and deferring the attack upon that horde till another time; but that time never came. All the sensible Spaniards were indignant at the Governor's letting slip this long wished for opportunity of destroying, or at any rate chastising the atrocious nation of Tobas, whose daily business and delight it for so many years had been to cut the throats of the Spaniards. They thought that the society of the Abipones, who were of so much service in seeking out and fighting the enemy, might not hereafter be obtained without great difficulty; and that many would perhaps atone with their blood for one man's fault in neglecting such fair opportunities of victory.

Whilst the Abipones were absent on this expedition, the defence of the colony entirely devolved upon me, a charge in the performance of which I underwent much trouble and anxiety; for the neighbouring Mocobios, learning from their spies that none but the women and children remained at home with me, repeatedly approached us for mischievous purposes. But as I never ceased watching, day and night, with unremitting vigilance, their insidious attempts never succeeded but once, when they carried off a number of excellent horses from the pastures where they had been left to feed

by the Spanish soldiers, the persons appointed to guard them being asleep at the time. The head of the plunderers was a certain Mocobio, who had deserted religion and a town life, and was second to none in rapacity and cunning. By day he used to converse familiarly with the Spaniards appointed to guard the cattle, as he understood their language, and to take his dinner with them: but one night he suddenly went off with his companions who were lurking hard by, and carried away a number of choice horses. After fourteen days' journey our heroes returned, leading in triumph a miserable crowd of captives whom they exhibited as trophies, and testimonials of their valour. But for my part I judged a victory stained with the blood of so many helpless women and girls more worthy of sorrow than of applause, knowing that it would certainly be atoned for by that of myself, or my people, and that the surviving Tobas would never allow the death or captivity of their wives, mothers, or children to go unrevenged; in which opinion all the Spaniards coincided, firmly believing that certain danger threatened the colony from those enraged savages. But the Governor, hastening to the city, evinced how little he had our safety at heart, when he left such a scanty band as we were, exposed to a multitude of enemies,

breathing nothing but vengeance. After much entreaty, he could only be persuaded to leave us five Spanish guards, wretched creatures, entirely destitute of courage, and nearly so of arms. These were sent home at intervals, and succeeded by others, as bad, or worse; so that they rather served as a laughing-stock, than as a protection to the Abipones.

I must not omit to mention that the Abipones publicly, and with the utmost effrontery, celebrated a slaughter they had formerly committed on the Spaniards, whose skulls they exhibited with songs and drinking, Fulgentio being present with his forces, and not daring to take the least exception at it. Since they durst do that in the face of the Governor, and four hundred soldiers, what respect would they pay to the threats or admonitions of a priest?

On the same day that the Abipones returned from the expedition, I visited all the tents of my people, to see and speak with the captives, and if they stood in need of medicine or assistance, to afford it them without delay: for either the terror excited by the sudden assault of the Spaniards, or grief at the loss of liberty and their native soil, or the burning heat of the sun in travelling, had affected them to such a degree, that we thought they were certainly going

to be seized with some disease. But I found them all in good health except one woman, the skin of whose head had been grazed by a bullet. As the wound was only skin-deep, the Spaniards laid a piece of fresh wax on the place, by way of a plaster, and the flies which infest moist places gradually bred worms there, which, as they occupied a dangerous part of the head, threw the woman into a delirium; but by the timely application of tiger's fat the worms were destroyed.

A slight dispute arose between the Spaniards and Abipones on the subject of the captives; the former, in order to draw all eyes towards them on their return to the city, and to be congratulated with the greater applause, wanted to take both the captive youths and the Toba women out of the hands of the Abipones, and to adorn themselves, like the daw, with borrowed plumes; on the other hand, the Abipones obstinately maintained that what they themselves had taken with the danger of their lives, was their own property; but were induced, by a settled compensation, or liberal promises, to cede a very few of the Tobas to the Spaniards, the rest of the captives being retained in the colony. I did not look upon myself as authorized to decide this controversy, but silently hoped that none of the captives

would remain with us, foreseeing that their presence would prove highly prejudicial to our colony. As we had no place for confining the captives, and as they enjoyed equal liberty of wandering with the rest, they every one escaped whilst their masters were absent or asleep. Some of the older Tobas returned home with stolen horses, and having become well acquainted with the whole of our neighbourhood, frequently returned to harass and plunder the colony.

CHAPTER XLII.

ANXIETY OF THE ABIPONES CONCERNING THE REVENGE OF THE TOBAS. CONTAGION OF THE TERTIAN FEVER.

My Abipones, late the conquerors of the Tobas, were not ignorant that their vanquished enemies observed the same rule as themselves in revenging injuries, and that victories were often succeeded by bloody slaughters. That they might not, therefore, be surprized by a sudden incursion of the Tobas, whom they had recently provoked, they diligently fortified their tents by the erection of temporary fences. But as fear deems no protection sufficient, they dreamt, even at mid-day, of enemies, snares, and attacks. A certain species of beetle, humming at an unlucky moment, was taken for a spy belonging to the enemy. No place nor time was free from danger and anxiety to the Abipones. Moreover, the female jugglers, whose predictions the savages think it a crime to discredit, used falsely to affirm that the enemies were approaching, and their divinations being frequently confirmed by Indians going to and fro, the Abipones often passed the day, and still

oftener the night, in arms, expecting every instant the assault of the Tobas.

To this continual trepidation was added the contagion of the tertian fever, which raged indiscriminately, for a length of time, amongst persons of either sex, and of every age. Being forced to attend upon the sick day and night, I was at length seized with the disorder myself; but whereas the rest only suffered from it every third day, I, on the contrary, was afflicted with alternate fits of heat and cold for many hours every evening; a period at which none but myself felt the slightest degree of fever. The disease grew so violent, that my head became delirious at night, my body was inflamed with heat, my tongue grew black as a coal, and my languid feet consisted of nothing but skin and bone; it was long before I could walk without leaning on a crutch, so greatly was my strength exhausted; in a word, I looked like a breathing carcass. The Indians, who daily crowded to see me, exclaimed all together, with tears in their eyes, "You are going to die, Father! you are going to die!" I certainly seemed at no great distance from the grave, my disorder daily increasing, and myself destitute of physician, medicine, proper food, wine, bread, sugar, every thing in short necessary to revive

and strengthen me. The very sight of the hard dry beef, my only fare at other times, created disgust in my languid stomach: maize ground and boiled, if it could be procured of the Indians at any price, I accounted a luxury, finding it of great service in cooling me and quenching my burning thirst. Moreover, I made daily use of a plant, in Spanish called *verdologa*, in Latin, *portulaca*, which, boiled in water, afforded me great relief: it has small, bright, green leaves, growing on a reddish stalk, which creeps along the ground, and seasoned with oil and vinegar is an excellent substitute for lettuce.

My worst and most intolerable grievance was, that the people assembled together almost every night, exclaiming with doleful yells, that the sanguinary Tobas were at hand, and imperiously calling upon me to arise for the defence of the colony, whilst I was burning with fever and totally helpless. Unable to stand on my feet, I was sometimes obliged to keep watch, sitting at the door of my hut, and leaning upon a gun, to relieve the fears of this faint-hearted crew, who placed more confidence in one musket than in an hundred spears. I was alive, but hardly conscious of my existence. At length, when the violence of the fever abated, and the use of my senses, though not of my

limbs, was restored to me, I often crept through the tents of the sick, leaning on the arms of others, that no dying person might expire without religious consolation. Rapidly growing worse and worse, destitute of priest, physician, soldier, or guard, I was in daily expectation of death; but whether I was to receive it from the enemies' weapons, or the pertinacity of the fever, which lasted seven-and-twenty days, I remained in uncertainty, though well prepared for either, thinking death preferable to a life spent in such a manner. Fulgentio, to whom I wrote an account of the calamitous state of our affairs, returned for answer that neither priest nor soldiers could be sent us till after Easter. I suppose the good man was unwilling to deprive any Spaniard of the opportunity of beholding spectacles, or hearing sermons wherein the memory of our Saviour's sufferings were revived; yet the Governor would have given greater proofs of piety and prudence, had he, without taking account of those ceremonies, immediately dispatched a priest to me, who was dying, and a soldier to the colony, which was exposed to so much danger. On reading Fulgentio's letter, I cast away all hope of human aid, and confidently waited for the assistance of Heaven, which I at length obtained, and by which alone I was preserved. The continual

fever being mitigated at the end of seven-and-twenty days, and converted into a tertian, my strength slowly returned, and on Palm Sunday I ministered again at the altar, though in danger of fainting every moment, from the extreme weakness of my head and feet.

Eight days after Easter, a priest of our order came from Asumpcion, accompanied by twelve soldiers. This man had been ordered to take upon himself the care of the colony in case he found me dead; if I was still sick, to act in my stead, while I sailed to the city. He was as much rejoiced at my being still alive, as I was at his arrival; for he dreaded to remain amongst the savages, to whom he was unaccustomed, having till then been always employed as lecturer on philosophy or theology. The continual reports concerning the approach of the cruel Tobas, the repeated noise of war trumpets, the sudden concourse of trembling women, the tormenting swarms of fleas and gnats, the wretchedness of his habitation, the heat of the air, and the noxious vapours arising from adjacent marshes, rendered his life intolerable; though he had come furnished with fresh bread, with wine, and other liquors, to nourish or refresh the body, and had even brought water with him, which I was always obliged to take from a stagnant pool. That he

might not, therefore, be necessitated to remain here whilst I returned to Asumpcion, it is incredible with how liberal a hand he daily dispensed from his stores whatever was calculated to refresh and strengthen me. Accustomed to the Indians, and to misery, I had as great an abhorrence of the city, as he had of the wretched and turbulent colony; so that at the end of eight days he was at liberty to return with most of the soldiers, a few only being reserved to watch in the colony. Scarce had he reached home when he was seized with a fit of sickness, which confined him to his bed for some months. If eight days' stay was sufficient to lay him prostrate, though he wanted no comfort, you cannot wonder that, after two years spent in extreme indigence and amidst continual disturbances, the ill state of my health obliged me to quit the colony.

Bands of soldiers were sent at intervals to construct houses for the Abipones, who, till that time, for more than a year, had dwelt under the mats, which they used for tents both at home and in travelling. On holidays, when I was ministering at the altar, I used to discourse with the soldiers to such effect that many of them confessed to me the faults of their past life, which was rendered the more necessary by the perilous situation of our affairs. We

were agitated with daily apprehensions of the enemy's approach. At one time it was reported that Ychoalay, provoked at repeated plundering of his horses, was drawing near to the colony; at another, the vengeful Tobas were said to be coming with confederate savages. As no hope of tranquillity, or shadow of security appeared, there was not one of the Spaniards who did not ardently desire a speedy departure from the colony, and all the soldiers who were ordered thither by their captains thought themselves condemned to the quarries, or to the oar. The richer and more respectable strove to evade the journey on pretence of business, indisposition, or by some other feigned excuses; hence none but the meaner soldiers, Spaniards only in name, attended our town, and were rather a burden than a protection to us. Such were generally those who, in the beginning, were dispatched every month to our colony, both to bring us certain necessaries, and to see whether I was still alive. They were often prevented from reaching us from fear of the savages; at other times every thing they brought was so spoilt with the water as to be of no possible use: these were frequent causes of distress in the colony.

CHAPTER XLIII.

AN ASSAULT OF SIX HUNDRED SAVAGES ON THE SECOND OF AUGUST.

FREQUENT thunder was at length succeeded by lightning. The Tobas, ever full of threats, and unable to forget the slaughter they had undergone, aimed long that they might strike the surer blow. Intent upon destroying the colony, they associated with themselves their friends the Mocobios, together with the Oaekakalots, Lenguas, or Guaycurus. Learning from trusty messengers that six hundred savages were ready to attack us, we petitioned for supplies from the city, and they were promised, but never sent. The alarm being daily increased by the increasing evidence of the danger, many fled for fear to their well known retreats; though some returned at intervals, impelled by hunger, or desire to hear the news. I often passed many days with none but four Guarany families, whom I maintained in my own household, and some old Abiponian women, unable either to travel or bear arms. At length, when we had given up all hope of succour from the Spaniards, four soldiers crept to the colony, whose wretched appearance

seemed to intimate that they had come thither to die, not to slay the enemy—they themselves declared that they had been torn from their beds, where they were lying sick, and forced upon this errand, at the command of the inexorable Master of the Watch. Lorenzo Vernal, the captain of this miserable triad, was so dreadfully afflicted with gout in his limbs, that he could hardly lift his hand to his mouth; of his companions, one had such terrible swellings in the groin that he walked with the greatest difficulty; the second was in a consumption; the third melancholy mad. Such were the guards whom the Governor sent to defend our colony against a multitude of savages!

A few days after their arrival, an Abipon, who had long sojourned amongst the Mocobios, came in the dead of the night, and informed Oahari that the Tobas, accompanied by troops of Mocobios and Lenguas, had begun their journey, and intended speedily to attack us. The Cacique, comparing his own strength with that of the enemy, and seeing himself destitute of succour from the Spaniards, and unable to cope with such a multitude alone, immediately determined on flight; but that I might not suspect his departure to have been dictated by motives of fear, pretended to me that he was going to be absent for some days on a hunting

excursion. Most of the inhabitants crowding after him, only a few women and children remained to be slain by the enemy, only four men to give them battle. What other person that had been placed in so dangerous and difficult a situation, would not have taken boat on the river, and fled to a place of greater safety? Who, indeed, could have censured his flight? I was well aware that the peril in which I stood would have excused such a measure, and detached from it every appearance of disgrace; but, fortified against all events, I determined to defend to the utmost the place committed to my care, lest the Spaniards should reproach me with cowardice, and declare me deficient in that native magnanimity by which the Germans have always been distinguished.

I perceived that our security lay in continual vigilance, especially as smoke discerned at no great distance, and scouts discovered from our observatory, were manifest indications of the enemy's approach. The day before the assault, eight of our Abipones, all of tried valour, very opportunely returned to us in the evening: the colony, therefore, contained twelve fighting men, who, by the greatness of their courage, made up for the smallness of their number. After passing that night, as I had done many others, on the watch, walking up and down

the court-yard of the house, at length, about two o'clock, I laid myself down, oppressed with sleep, and unable any longer to endure the extreme cold; first, however, warning the captain to appoint a most vigilant watchman in my stead. The good man assured me that it was his intention to do so, and swore that he had been unable to get any sleep for many nights through fear of the attack. He placed a man in the yard to watch, who, to shelter himself from the cutting air, withdrew into a corner of the house, and there fell fast asleep. Whilst he, therefore, was loudly snoring, whilst all the inhabitants of the colony were wrapped in slumbers, and the dogs mute, which, at other times, would bark at a strange fly, about four o'clock above six hundred savage horsemen drew near with cautious steps, and in the profoundest silence, by the light of the full moon. In the first attack the savages carried off, without opposition, sixty ploughing oxen which I had confined in stalls near my house. Part of them besieged the houses of the Abipones, that, being engaged in the defence of their property, they might not be able to come and assist me. The rest of the savages, leaving their horses at the border of a neighbouring wood, surrounded the paling of my house, and filled the court-yard with a shower of arrows. The soldiers,

awakened at last by the screams of the women, who were flying to the palisado, instead of instantly discharging the cannon, and all the muskets at hand, upon the assailants, stupidly wasted time in collecting their luggage, and after they had deposited this trash in a place of safety, the captain comes, with a snail's pace, to awaken me, and, after much circumlocution, announces that we are surrounded by enemies, with just as much composure as if he had only been wishing me good day. When the captain perceived that I had armed myself and left the apartment, he fired his musket, but hit no one; for where he stood he could neither see the enemy, nor be seen by them. Spying the smoking musket directed towards the moon, which appeared right above my house, "What injury have you received from the moon, good man," said I, "that you are firing at *her?*" He, however, not a little elated at his musket's having made so unusually loud and ready a report, said pompously to one of his companions, "Come, brother, do you discharge your musket also:" but this soldier, a remarkable tall lean man, betook himself to a corner of the house, shaking in every limb, like a person in a fit of the ague.

I cannot pretend to deny that I was not alarmed myself at the arrival of the enemy,

which was rather sudden than unforeseen; but the very magnitude of the danger inspired me with a degree of courage, which, at this day, I cannot regard without astonishment. As in desperate diseases, violent medicines are sometimes hazarded, I, in like manner, made the rashest attempts, since scarcely any hope remained that destruction could be avoided. Trusting, by this means, to preserve the lives of the rest, I exposed myself to as many deaths as enemies' weapons. I ran towards the savage host, aiming a musket in a threatening manner, and as I went along the ground was strewed with arrows which rattled under my feet. The savages, ranged in a triple row, stuck to the palisade like flies, and were defended by its thick and lofty stakes, through the interstices of which they were able to shoot arrows at us, but could hardly be reached by our bullets; on which account I did not think it advisable merely to fire the musket, thinking that if they heard the report, and saw none of their companions fall, they would cease to fear, and boldly quit the palisade. I, therefore, walked straight towards the paling, intending to take a more certain aim at the savages with four pistols, and a gun, to which a bayonet was prefixed. But an unlucky accident disconcerted this fine scheme; for when I was about

ten steps off the palisade, and was just going to fire, an arrow an ell and a half long, made of the hardest wood, and barbed with five hooks, pierced the shoulder of my right arm, wounded a muscle by which the middle finger is moved, and stuck fixed in my side. On receiving this wound, I took hold of my musket with my left hand, and entered the house, that the captain, who was lying hid there, might pull out the arrow; and in order to do this, he twisted it quickly round and round with his hands, just as you mill chocolate, by which the flesh was sufficiently torn to open a way for the hooks to be taken out. What torture this caused me, no one that has not felt the same himself can possibly imagine.

The arrow being extracted, I returned to the place where I had received the wound, to keep the savages from the palisade; for though my right arm was covered with blood, and totally useless, the left was sufficient to handle the pistols with; but great was my surprize and self-congratulation to find that the enemies had all retired to a great distance from the stakes. These American heroes, terrified at sight of the musket which I presented when within ten steps of them, hastily departed without waiting for my return. The rest of the savages, who had attacked the houses of the colony, were

likewise repulsed, after a long and bloody conflict, by a few Abipones; who, having delivered their own habitations, flew to render me what assistance they could. One of them exclaimed, when he saw me streaming with blood, "We will not suffer this wound to go unrevenged, Father!" Another, seeing that the enemy had retreated from the palisado, and were mounting their horses, shot an arrow from the court-yard with such good fortune, that it pierced deep into the breast of a Toba: the wretch, wounded by this unforeseen weapon, threw away his bow and arrows, and was supported on horseback by a person sitting behind him.

As the event of this foot conflict had proved so contrary to the wishes of the savages, they all mounted their horses, re-entered their ranks, and occupied the whole way between the palisade, and the houses of the Abipones. That they might not attempt to proceed any farther, I burst into the market-place, with the Abipon who had wounded the Toba, carrying a musket in his hand. Do not expect to hear of a field smoking with blood, and bestrown with dead bodies; that was not at all my wish. My only intention was to put these dangerous intruders to flight, and my only anxiety to prevent our being all crushed under their horses' feet. You will laugh to hear how one man can hold out

against six hundred horsemen in Paraguay. No sooner had the gunpowder lighted by the Abipon thundered from the musket, than, startled by the sulphureous smoke, or perhaps somewhat, touched by the shot, they all quitted their ranks, and fled precipitately with a horrid outcry, overturning rather than turning their horses, and almost forcing them backwards by the violence with which they pulled the bridle. They paused for a while in a neighbouring grove, which they reckoned secure, and ranged themselves afresh in form of battle, designing first, to entice me to pursue them, and then, by means of forty of their companions, who were concealed beneath the sloping bank of a lake in the vicinity, to intercept, surround, and slay me. Being apprized of this ambuscade by a watchman stationed in the court-yard of the house, I loaded the musket again, and stood with my Achates, the Abipon, on a little neighbouring hill, from whence I could observe the farthest motions of the enemy, and defend the chapel, and the houses of the Abipones, by which I was protected on every side from the assault of the inimical troop. The savages, beholding the musket, the sound of which still rang in their ears, were afraid to renew the attack. That they might not, however, appear to have done nothing, and return

home empty-handed, since an opportunity of committing slaughter was denied them, they began to turn their attention towards plunder, and three hundred being dismissed to collect the horses of the Abipones, which were feeding on the remote shores of the river, an equal number remained to keep us at bay. The horsemen surrounded the colony at a distance, in the form of a semicircle, remaining perfectly silent and quiet, and keeping their eyes constantly fixed upon the musket. The allied company, as they consisted of three different nations, were distinguished by feathers of various colours hanging from their spears. A band of Abipones kept guard to repel the enemy if they should venture an attack. I was as anxious to preserve the situation I had chosen, as the savages were to maintain theirs. Mutual fear imposed a truce of some hours on us both; we dreading the multitude of enemies,—they the musket. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the plunderers triumphantly returned, bringing a booty of at least two thousand horses, to display which they passed on at a distance, in sight of the colony, but beyond the reach of my weapon. Though greatly distressed at the loss of their horses, my Abipones saluted the plunderers with festive drumming and joyful vociferation, exulting that

they who had come with a design of carrying off men, had been forced to content themselves with beasts. After besieging us for some time, the savages joined their companions, nor was their retreat disorderly. By order of the Caciques, two companies preceded the drove of horse, as many followed it, and the rest went on each side. As usual they burnt all the dry grass they could find in the plain, that their countrymen might be apprized of their return from afar, by means of the smoke. They halted on the borders of a lake a few leagues distant from the colony, and there feasted sumptuously on our oxen, as appeared next day from the bones they had left.

Although the enemies were out of sight, my labours were not yet at an end, and after having been fatigued with riding, watching, giving orders, and shedding a quantity of blood from four o'clock in the morning till two in the afternoon, I laid aside my arms for a while, and applied my mind to healing. Whilst an arrow was extracted from an Abipon, who had been wounded in defending his house from the besiegers, the broken point stuck deep in the flesh, and I was called upon by the screams of his wife to apply whatever remedy I judged proper. Having performed this charitable duty, I at length got time to attend to my own cure, to bathe the wound, which had been in-

flicted ten hours before, with hot wine, and to bind it up. My hand streamed continually with perspiration; from which it may be concluded that wooden arrows contain a sort of poison. In consequence of losing such a quantity of blood, I was tormented with a burning thirst, which the largest draughts of water failed to appease. I do not remember to have tasted a morsel of food the whole day. The pain of my wound, which received hourly augmentation, became perfectly intolerable at night, when I could discover no comfortable position in which to place my arm. A pillow laid underneath it afforded me some relief. The muscle, or more properly, the tendon of the muscle which moves the little finger, had been so dreadfully lacerated, that it swelled like a rope, but was completely cured, at the end of sixteen days, by the nightly application of melted hen's fat. The swelling in the muscle subsided, but I did not recover the use of the finger, which was moved by it, for five months; at the end of which it was healed by a balsam administered by a famous druggist in the town of the Holy Apostles. Even at this day I bear about me a scar, the witness of a signal wound, the monument of my contempt of death, and defence of the colony, and a constant memorial of beloved Paraguay.

CHAPTER XLIV.

COROLLARY TO THE EVENTS DETAILED IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.

No one will deny that my Abipones performed wonders, beyond all expectation, and even belief, when it is considered that twelve of them not only held out for some hours against six hundred savages, but even repulsed them. Amid such a cloud of arrows no Abipon received any injury but the man I mentioned, and a boy of twelve years old, who, being awakened from sleep by the neighing of the horses, and the shouts of the combatants, was slightly wounded in the leg by an arrow, as he chanced to look out of his tent. We concluded that many of the enemy had been wounded from seeing two here and there seated on the same horse, and because breastplates of hard antas' skins were found next day in the plain covered with blood, and pierced with weapons. An Abiponian youth, who had been stationed in a secure place, bravely defended a flock of our sheep, which the enemy made frequent attempts to carry off, by continually shooting arrows, and succeeded in preserving it untouched. Fain

would I bestow some commendation on those four noble Spanish guards; but, alas! no sign of bravery or dexterity could I discover in either of them: one discharged his musket at the moon, and another did not even know how to load his, for he put the ball in first, and then the gunpowder, so that the one prevented the other from catching fire. Other instances of stupidity, which I observed in their comrades' method of handling their arms, I have neither time nor inclination to commemorate. Blockheads of this kind were sent us by the captains for the defence of the colonies, whilst the more skilful, the more active, those in short that alone deserved the name of Spaniards, were left at home to increase their property.

On the same day which was rendered so memorable by the assault of the Tobas, when we thought ourselves out of danger, ten savage horsemen, issuing from a neighbouring wood about sun-set, presented themselves to our sight, but quickly disappeared. The general opinion was that they were spies, and this gave us occasion to suspect that the enemies were lurking disguised in ambush, in the intent of returning at night to surprize us. The unusual and universal barking of the dogs, during the whole night, confirmed our fears. To ascertain whether any of the enemy were lying in wait,

I armed myself at ten o'clock at night, and traversed the whole neighbourhood, the plain, the wood, and the shores of the adjacent lake, followed by the four Spaniards. Having examined every place in the vicinity, I became more tranquil, and wrote an account to the Governor at Asumpcion of the state of our affairs. With my letter I sent, wrapped up in my bloody shirt sleeve, the arrow which had wounded me; a trophy of the religious obedience which had fixed me to this perilous colony. The arrow and the sleeve stained with my blood attracted all eyes in the metropolis, and were honourably preserved as monuments. The Spaniards judged of the wound, and of my danger, partly from the accounts of the Abiponian messengers, partly from the size of the barbed arrow; and, as report usually swells in its progress, my acquaintance mourned me as dead, and offered the sacrifice of the host for my atonement. Others, knowing me to be still alive, honoured me with the title of Confessor of the Lord; as my administering baptism to the Cacique of the Tobas was the occasion of my receiving the wound. The report of the assault and defence of the colony was spread in the metropolis with great augmentations, when those four soldiers, who had partaken of the danger, and been spectators of the whole conflict, arrived. They

declared upon their honour that we were attacked by eight hundred savages, more terrible to behold than hobgoblins; they extolled to the skies the bravery of the Abiponian defendants, who were so few in comparison with the enemy; and they openly declared that their own safety and that of the rest was principally owing to me, who had dared to approach within ten steps of the savages, and to contend with them so long in the open plain. But I always gratefully acknowledged, that, being destitute of all human aid in repulsing the savages, we were preserved in our extreme danger by divine assistance.

Though the assailants were departed, the minds of the inhabitants were far from being in a state of tranquillity. Next day, the market-place resounded with the screams of women, lamenting their husbands and sons, who had gone out under pretext of hunting, as slain by the confederate savages: but their speedy return to the colony dissipated the alarm excited by this false report. Our joy for their safety was equalled by their grief at hearing how many excellent horses had been carried off by the enemy. To indemnify themselves, however, for the loss, was a matter of little time and trouble; for, by a dexterous use of twenty horses, given them by their

friend Oaherkaikin, and of many others which they had used on their journey, they soon after took a drove of four hundred from the Mocobios, which subsequently proved the means of acquiring still more. In the course of a few months, such was the abundance of horses in the colony, it seemed impossible that any could have been lost.

The Governor Fulgentio, who had been informed by me of the danger of the colony, at length appointed ten regular soldiers for the defence of it; but as men of this description are always slow in their obedience to orders, and often refuse to comply with them altogether, they landed with us two days after the hostile incursion that I have related took place. I was greatly rejoiced at the arrival of the Spaniards, as it secured me from being left alone should fear again induce the inhabitants to desert the town; for fresh assaults were shortly to be apprehended, the Tobas being neither appeased nor satisfied with plundering horses, since they had been disappointed of an opportunity of slaying their owners. They resolved upon a fresh incursion, repeatedly exclaiming, that blood could only be repaid by blood; which being conveyed to our ears by good authority, we were under the necessity of watching day and night. The women,

dreading the cruelty of the minacious Tobas, sought security in the remotest lurking places, and persuaded their sons and husbands to accompany them thither; so that in a few weeks the little town was stripped of inhabitants. The Governor continually promised to go out against the Tobas for the purpose of revenging the blood I had shed, but he did not stand to his word till six months after; meantime the hordes of Tobas had removed to more distant places: in consequence of this long delay, the joint expedition of the Spaniards and Abipones, though attended with an amazing deal of inconvenience, proved totally fruitless, the Tobas remaining undiscovered, and reckoning this vain journey of the Spaniards amongst their victories.

Amidst these continual tumults, no time was left for the instruction of the Abipones, nor the faintest hope of success in the attempt. Engrossed by the pursuits of war and the chase, they had neither time nor inclination for religious duties, and though in the evening most of the young women and boys assembled in the chapel to learn from me the rudiments of the faith, very few, and often none of the male adults appeared there. No industry or eloquence seemed sufficient to abolish their drinking-parties and superstitious ceremonials. It

was with the utmost difficulty that I could prevail upon them to receive baptism, even at the point of death. They often refused to obey me when I advised any wholesome ordinances, tending either to the security of the colony, or the welfare of individuals. Hence, when the Governor desired to be informed, by letter, of the number of inhabitants, that by exhibiting this testimonial he might procure me the usual Missionaries' pension from the master of the royal treasury; I replied to him in these words: "I should not dare to demand the annual pension which his Catholic Majesty has destined for the support of the Missionaries; for this colony is not composed of catechumens, but of *energumens:* but the stipend paid to the King's soldiers I assert to be my undoubted right, and I verily believe that there is no captain or lieutenant in this province who would be induced, by any emolument whatsoever, to pass even one month amidst the perpetual dangers, watchings, labours, and miseries, which I have daily undergone during a period of two years, in defending this situation against the savages." These things I told the Governor with the greatest sincerity; but let it be known that I never received a single penny from the royal treasury, either in the character of missionary or of soldier. Hence originated the uncommon indi-

gence of this colony: for the money which the piety of the King had appropriated to the support of the Missionaries, was the chief, and almost the only source from which we used to purchase the sacred utensils, the instruments of iron, and other necessaries for clothing and remunerating the Indians.

Worn out by two years' afflictions, labours, and cares; frequently tormented by the gout; and deprived of the use of my middle finger; I requested the Provincial to substitute another priest in my place. At length, at the end of three months, Joseph Brigniel, a veteran Missionary of the Abipones and Guaranies, accompanied by Father Jeronymo Rejon, was appointed my successor. Both of them, though they had come from the city plentifully furnished with small gifts to gain the good-will of the inhabitants, and with things pertaining to domestic use, were daily called upon for the exertion of their patience, finding the Abipones little tractable, the Mocobios and Tobas ever hostile. These latter, not to mention other instances, invaded the colony whilst Brigniel was performing divine service; on which occasion an old Guarany shepherd was killed in the country, and Oahari, amongst several others, received a deep wound in battle. This Cacique died soon after of the deadly bite of a serpent.

Though of mean extraction, he was famous for military deeds; politic, intrepid, courteous to his own countrymen, and formidable to strangers; qualities which gained him the title of Cacique, and the celebrated names, first of Revachigi, afterwards of Oahari. Though scarcely more than thirty years of age, he had rendered his name already illustrious, being superior to most of the Abipones in dignity and beauty of person, in dexterity in horsemanship and the handling of weapons, in contempt of danger, and in greatness of mind. He was always well-disposed towards me, and attentive to my admonitions, except that, from too great a desire to gratify his countrymen, he suffered himself to be hurried into vices, which they indeed account virtues, and was restrained from laying any commands or prohibitions on his people by the consideration that the title of Cacique did not belong to him by hereditary right, but had been conferred by the free votes of the people, and consequently was a very precarious honour. In one respect, he was more fortunate than the Caciques Debayakaikin, Ychamenraikin, and Alaykin, who, though old inhabitants of our colonies, died in battle without having received baptism; whereas he, of his own accord, desired to undergo the ceremony, when he found himself at the point of death.

Joseph Brigniel, though long accustomed to the Abipones, thought the ferocity of the inhabitants, the perpetual incursions or threats of the enemy, and the wretchedness of the place itself, quite intolerable; and indeed, not many months after, he had a dangerous and obstinate fit of sickness. He told many of his friends in letters that he could not conceive how I had been able to remain for two years in so calamitous, turbulent, and perilous a situation; and in one addressed to the Governor declared that the preservation of this colony was, under God, to be attributed to my patience, vigilance, and industry. I should have forborn to mention this honest encomium, were it not to refute the calumnies of certain individuals, who, never having performed any praiseworthy actions themselves, are impelled by envy or malice secretly to detract from the good deeds of others, when those who might convict them of falsehood are far away. Let me now proceed to relate my departure from the colony.

The decaying and shattered bark in which my successor Brigniel had come, served to convey me up the river Paraguay, in company with a few soldiers, to the city of Asumpcion. We performed a voyage of seventy leagues in eight days, using both oars and sails. The night before we reached port, a furious tempest

drove us against a very lofty bank, the height of which we at length gained by means of planks stuck into the ground, and supported by the vessel. Sitting in the fields, we had for some hours to endure a storm of rain and loud thunder, and though completely drenched, esteemed ourselves fortunate in having escaped being swallowed up by the waves, or struck dead by lightning. As the soldiers were gone, and the sailors forced to remain to look after the skiff, I set off on foot and alone, unless you call rain, wind, and thunder my companions; and after travelling through a country swollen with torrents, reached the metropolis a little before noon. The kindness of my former associates in our college, who all ran to embrace me, effaced from my mind the perils of the voyage, and the distress of the preceding night. I went to the Governor, and told him as a friend what measures he ought to pursue for the preservation of the colony and the Fathers, and for the coercion of the savages. The good man acquiesced in my counsels, promised much, and performed almost nothing: for, from letters written to me subsequently by Father Brigniel, I understood that affairs continued in the same state as before my departure, or rather that they grew worse and worse.

My strength being somewhat repaired, it

was thought advisable for me to pursue my journey to the Guarany towns, where I might be entirely restored to health. Antonio Miranda, rector of the college, a man of plain manners, and a hater of flattery, said to me, just as I was going to mount my horse; "You have had more to endure in two years, in the situation you have just quitted, than others go through during many years in other colonies." The rector also desired me to defer my journey for a while, and to act instead of the Jesuit priest, who was absent on business, in the estate of our college, called Paraguay, and twenty leagues distant from Asumpcion. This place stretches out on one side into a pleasant plain, affording pasture to a vast quantity of cattle; on the other, where it looks towards the south, it is surrounded by hills and rocks; in one of which a cross piled up of three large stones is visited, and held in great veneration by the natives for the sake of St. Thomas; for they believe, and firmly maintain, that the Apostle, seated on these stones as on a chair, formerly preached to the assembled Indians. Having executed my commission here, I pursued my journey on horseback, accompanied by a few Negroes; for the shores of the Tebiguary, which we crossed in a boat, are thought extremely dangerous for travellers. On Christ-

mas-eve, I reached the towns of the Guaranies, and after travelling so many hundred leagues by water and land, laboured sedulously, the first days of my arrival, both in the pulpit, and the confessional chair. The tranquillity of those places, proper diet, and the prescriptions of Norbert Ziulak, a famous physician and apothecary, within a few weeks restored me so completely to health, that seeing myself capable of undertaking another journey of an hundred and forty leagues, I returned in Lent to the town of St. Joachim, at the earnest request of its magistrate, and with the permission of the Corregidor of the Indian towns. Amongst the Ytatinguas, the inhabitants of this town, with whom I had formerly lived six years, I now spent two more with much satisfaction. Here, indeed, my labours were great, but they were pleasant, being crowned with abundant success; I would that they had been lasting! But in two years I was recalled from this town, and sent back to Europe with my associates, by order of the king. The banishment of the shepherds was the destruction of the poor little sheep; and the Abipones, leaving their towns, began anew to cut the throats of the Spaniards. A Jesuit who sailed to Europe a year later than the rest, told me, at Vienna, that all the Abipones had deserted the town of St. Joachim, where

I had left two thousand and seventeen Christians on my departure, and that the neighbouring town of St. Stanislaus, which had formerly contained two thousand three hundred neophytes, was entirely destitute of inhabitants. Some secular priests, as well as monks, were indeed put in place of the Jesuits, but they were all such as disliked the Indians, or were disliked by them, having undertaken the care of the towns, not spontaneously as we did, but by compulsion. Some came weeping, as I myself witnessed; others, weary of dwelling ever so short awhile amongst the indigent and formidable Indians, fell sick, or feigned to do so, that they might be permitted to return. How much could I write on this subject! but it is better to be silent. Time will discover things, which, though perfectly true, cannot with propriety be inserted in books.

CHAPTER XLV.

HOW ARDUOUS A TASK IT IS TO PERSUADE THE ABIPONES TO ENTER COLONIES, AND TO EMBRACE THE RELIGION OF CHRIST.

HAVING given a plain and faithful description of the superstitious rites of the Abipones, of their native vices, ferocious temper, and wars both domestic and foreign, I appeal to the judgment of my reader whether it be not a business of more time and labour to transform these savages into Christians, than to carve a Mercury out of a solid block, and whether it be due subject of wonder, that such astonishing efforts on the part of the Jesuits should be attended with so little success; which however was by no means despicable, if the difficulties of the undertaking be properly appreciated. I shall now clearly state, for your consideration, in what these difficulties consisted, and why it was so arduous a task to instruct the equestrian savages in civilization and Christian discipline.

Ever wandering, ever abroad, the Abipones from childhood were unaccustomed to home, and to remaining in any one fixed place. Wherever the hope of booty, the necessity of

hunting, or danger of the enemy called them, thither they went on swift horses, subject to no authority which could either prohibit their departure, or enforce their speedy return; for the obedience which they paid their Caciques was entirely spontaneous. They thought it insufferable to depend on the will of another within the narrow limits of a colony, and to be confined to their houses, like a snail to its shell. Though free to range up and down the nearer plains and woods at pleasure, they found them, from being frequented by other hordes, despoiled of those fruits and wild animals to the use of which they had so long been accustomed, that, if deprived of them, even when plentifully supplied with better food, they complained of being starved and miserable. While they lived uncontrolled, like the birds which fly up and down, liberal nature spontaneously offered them food without need of agriculture: but as all things are not produced in all soils, they were constantly under the necessity of migrating from place to place, and this change of abode, and variety of hunting, seemed to contain a sort of charm for them.

In each of the colonies beef was distributed amongst the inhabitants at stated hours of almost every day; but by reason of the poverty of

the pastures it was often lean, often insufficient, and sometimes (which however happened but seldom) there was none at all : for where could the Missionary get beef if he wanted oxen, and if the Spaniards were as slow and niggardly in supplying the colonies of the savages, as they had been forward in founding them? They were extremely solicitous that the Abipones and Mocobios should be tamed like wild beasts, and guarded in the towns from slaying the Spaniards, but took very little care to prevent them from dying of hunger. In the towns of St. Jeronymo and St. Ferdinand, the estates were sometimes reduced to such a wretched condition that, having nothing left for their support, the Abipones with their families were forced to go out into the neighbouring plains for the sake of hunting. After they had been two or three months absent, the fields which our entreaties had prevailed with them to plough, were covered with tares or browsed on by beasts, and the loss of the expected harvest induced a necessity either of roving or starving; a very pernicious alternative : for in repeated wanderings, often of many weeks, civilization and the knowledge of the rudiments of religion, so laboriously instilled into them, were forgotten, and they gradually relapsed into their former barbarism. The deficiency of sheep and oxen was

certainly the chief cause which retarded the progress of Christianity in these colonies. If, according to St. Paul, amongst other nations faith enters by the ear, with the savages of Paraguay it can only be thrust in by the mouth. Hence our anxiety lest cattle should fail us; hence our grief to find that they could so seldom be obtained or preserved.

This scarcity of sheep and kine originated sometimes in the niggardliness of the Spaniards, sometimes in the gluttony of the Abipones, who, not content with the ordinary portion of meat awarded to all, often slew oxen, and still oftener young cows and calves, without our knowledge or consent, for their own private eating. If we detected and reprehended them, saying that the estate would be drained by these secret depredations, "That is no concern of your's, Father," they would reply; "the Spaniards must send more; they promised to do so when, at their request, and for their convenience, we entered this colony. If they fail to perform their promises, we are also freed from our engagements, and shall return to our old way of putting them to death." Providently reserving the cows for breed, we ordered that none but the superfluous bulls or steers should be taken to the shambles; but the Indians, careless of the future, wanted to eat the young heifers because

they were fatter: "When bulls bring forth," said I, "the cows shall be killed." This refusal affronted them very much, and they threatened to desert the colony. If the Jesuit, either fearing the threats of the Indians, or desirous of obtaining their good-will, leave the herd at their discretion, he will see the estate suddenly destitute of cattle; if he firmly refuse to comply with their wishes, the town will be as suddenly stripped of inhabitants: in the one case, he will be accused of prodigality, in the other of parsimony, so that whichever way the Missionary acts, he is sure to incur blame—should he avoid Charybdis, he will hardly be able to escape Scylla.

Nor is it sufficient to satisfy the Abipones in the article of food; whatever they took it into their heads to wish for, though perhaps it could not be found in any shop at Amsterdam, they used to require at our hands, and that not in a supplicatory, but an imperative tone. Day and night they trod our threshold in crowds, and wearied our ears with the constant repetition of "Father, give me a hat, a knife, an axe, a ring, glass-beads, salt, tobacco, &c." If to any of their requests you reply, though with great mildness and the most perfect sincerity, that you are not in possession of the thing in question, they will rudely accuse you of stinginess and falsehood—

nay, I have sometimes heard worse. One of the older Abipones, not a bad man in other respects, desired me, in an imperious manner, to furnish him with a knife; I gently replied, that I had none just then, but would give him one as soon as the expected supply arrived from the city. "If I were to meet you in the field with this lance," rejoined he, smiling, and taking up a lance that was lying near, "you would hardly dare to tell me that you had not a knife." These perpetual and unreasonable requests of the Abipones are not however to be wondered at. Poverty rendered them importunate, arrogance, bold. Now learn from whence this arrogance proceeded. They knew that they were feared by the Spaniards. The slaughters which they had perpetrated, the terror which for many years they had spread throughout the whole province, the victories which they had gained, were yet fresh in their memory. They spoke of it as of a favour extorted from them by the prayers and promises of the Governors, that they had laid aside arms for a while, to settle in a wretched colony, and insisted upon it that the advantages resulting from this measure were entirely on the side of the Spaniards. At every refusal which our poverty compelled us to make them, they complained that they were richer and happier whilst at enmity with the

Spaniards, than now that they were their friends. "Alas! how senseless were our chiefs and old men," said the Abiponian youths, full of discontent, and panting for plunder, "in granting peace to the Spaniards! Here we are forced to pine miserable and inglorious in this little town; whereas formerly, by plundering estates, or merchants' waggons, we furnished ourselves with enough to last many months, more than we can now obtain either by entreaty or artifice." Mindful of former booties, they thought they were imposing great obligations on the Spaniards when they remained quietly in a colony, and ceased to rob, burn, and murder, and looked upon every instance of liberality in their former adversaries as a small return for their own concession of peace.

It certainly ought to be reckoned amongst the noble victories of our age, that the Abipones who, from the time of Charles the Fifth, had continued to defy the arms of the Spaniards, when so many other nations of Paraguay were put under the yoke, have at last been induced to enter colonies. The fruitlessness of innumerable expeditions undertaken against them at length convinced the Spanish soldiers that the Abipones were an overmatch for all the force and cunning of the Europeans, by their craft, their swiftness, and above all by the situation

of the places they occupied, the nature of which itself defended, and rendered them invincible. Their stations served for strong-holds, thick woods for walls, rivers and pools for fosses, lofty trees for watch-towers, and the Abipones themselves for guards and spies. To prevent the possibility of their ever being utterly exterminated, they were separated into various hordes, and dwelt in different places, both that they might mutually warn and assist one another, and that, if any danger were apprehended, that they might with more certainty avoid the enemy. Indeed the old complaint of the Spaniards was, that they had more difficulty in finding the Abipones, than in conquering them when found. Though to-day you learn from your spies that they are settled in a neighbouring plain, you will hear to-morrow that they are removed to a great distance from their yesterday's residence, and are buried amidst woods and marshes. Whenever the savages have any suspicion of danger, they mount swift horses, hasten to places of greater security, and, sending scouts in all directions, generally discontert the plans of the enemy by unremitting vigilance. I do not think the Abipones are much to be censured for having delayed to enter our colonies so long: for whilst they live in towns, banished from their lurking-places, and exposed to at-

tacks of every kind, they think they have sold their liberty and security, incapable of any firm reliance on the faith and friendship of the Spaniards, which the cruelty and deceit formerly practised towards their ancestors have taught them to suspect.

I can truly say, that my most earnest endeavour was to inspire the Abipones with love and confidence towards the Spaniards. "Had they not come to Paraguay," said I, "you would still be unacquainted with horses, oxen, and dogs, all which you take such delight in. You would have been obliged to creep along like tortoises. You could never have tasted the flesh of oxen, but must have subsisted entirely on that of wild animals. How laborious would you think it to hunt otters without hounds, which likewise by their barking prevent you from being surprized by the enemy in your sleep! Horses, your delight, your deities, if I may be allowed to make use of the expression, your chief instruments of war, hunting, travelling, and sportive contests, have been bestowed on you by the Spaniards. But all this is nothing in comparison with the light of divine religion kindled for you by that people, whose anxiety for your happiness has led them to offer you teachers of Christianity brought from Europe in their ships, and at their expense. From

all this, it is evident what love and fidelity you ought to show to the Spaniards, who have conferred such benefits on you, and are so studious of your welfare. I do not mean to deny that they once turned their arms against yourselves and your ancestors, but you, not they, were the aggressors. The Spaniards will henceforward return love for love, if, ceasing to cherish hatred and suspicion towards them, you will cultivate their friendship by all the means in your power." These ideas I constantly strove to inculcate into the minds of my disciples, but though none of them ventured openly to contradict me, they gave more credit to their eyes than their ears, to the deeds of the Spaniards than to the words of the Missionaries, and sometimes in familiar conversation during our absence whispered their sentiments with regard to the Spaniards, who, they said, attend solely to their own interests, and care little for the convenience of the Indians; preserve peace only so long as they fear war; and are most to be dreaded when they speak the fairest; whose deeds correspond not with their words, and whose conduct is inconsistent with the law they profess to observe. When reproved for stealing horses from the estates of the Spaniards, they denied it to be a theft, affirming that their country was usurped by the Spaniards, and that whatever

was produced there belonged of right to them. Your whole stock of rhetoric was exhausted before you could eradicate these erroneous notions from the minds of the Indians, which, however, by excessive toil was at length effected; for all of them knew that, unless they promised peace and sincere friendship to the Spaniards, they would never be received into our colonies, and have the benefit of our instructions. All the Indians in America intrusted to our care were soldiers and tributaries of the Spanish Monarch, not slaves of private individuals. This is to be understood not only of the Guaranies and Chiquitos, but also of the Christian Mocobios, Abipones, and all the other nations which we civilized in Paraguay.

But let us suppose the Abipones to have been prevailed upon to enter a colony, and accept the friendship of the Spaniards; ye saints, what numerous and almost insurmountable obstacles remain to be overcome in effecting their civilization! From boyhood they had spent their whole time in rapine and slaughter, and had acquired riches, honours, and high-sounding names in the pursuit. How hard then must it have been for them to refrain their hands from the Spaniards, to sit down in a colony indigent and inglorious, to cut wood instead of enemies' heads, to exchange the spear

for the axe and the plough; with bended knees to learn the rudiments of religion amongst children; and in some sort to become children themselves! These were arduous trials to veteran warriors, who remembered the time when they were formidable, not to one little town only, but to the whole province; and though many of the more advanced in age gradually laid aside their ferocity, and conformed to the discipline of our colonies, we often had to experience the truth of the apophthegm,

Naturam expelles furcâ, tamen usque recurret.

The greatest difficulties were to be encountered in taming the old women and the young men: the former, blindly attached to their ancient superstitions, the source of their profits, and stay of their authority, thought it a crime to yield up a tittle of the savage rites; the latter, burning with the love of liberty, and disgusted with any sort of labour, strove by plundering horses to acquire renown, that they might not seem to have degenerated from the valour of their ancestors.

They had never even heard of a benevolent Deity, the creator of all things, and were accustomed to fear and reverence the evil spirit, as I have shown more fully in a former chapter. Instructed by us they learnt to know

and adore the one, and to despise the other. All those pitiful, superstitious, absurd opinions which had been sucked in with their mothers' milk, and, heard from the mouths of old women, as from a Delphic tripod, had received the ready assent of their infancy, they were commanded to look upon as ridiculous falsehoods, and at the same time to yield their belief to mysteries of religion, which surpass the comprehension of the wisest. It was somewhat hard immediately to forego notions which had been sanctioned by the approbation of their grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, and to embrace laws brought from a strange land, and every way contrary to their habits of life. Formerly they had been permitted to marry as many wives as they pleased, and to repudiate them in like manner whenever it suited their fancy. To repress such unbounded liberty by the perpetual marriage tie, this was the difficulty, this was the great obstacle to their embracing religion, and their frequent incitement to desert it.

The custom of drinking had taken such firm root amongst the Abipones, that it required more time and labour to eradicate drunkenness than any other vice. They would abstain from slaughter and rapine, and superstitious rites; confine themselves to one wife; attend divine

worship frequently; evince considerable industry in tilling the fields and building houses; yet after all this, it was scarcely possible to prevent them from assembling together, and intoxicating themselves with drink made of honey or the alfaroba.

The pernicious examples of the Christians, which often meet the eyes of the Abipones, frequently prevent them from amending their conduct. Paraguay is inhabited by Spaniards, Portugueze, native Indians and Negroes, and those born from their promiscuous marriages, *Mulatos*, *Mestizos*, &c. Amid such a various rabble of men, it cannot be wondered at that many are to be found who *say that they know God, yet deny him with their deeds,—who, though they believe like Catholics, live like Gentiles, enemies of the cross of Christ, whose God is their belly.* Such licence in plundering, such shameless profligacy of manners, such impunity in slaughters and other atrocities, prevailed for a long time in the cities and estates, that, compared with them, the hordes of the most savage Indians might be called theatres of virtue, humanity, and chastity. These reprobates, either strangers or natives, infect the savages with the contagion of their manners, teach them crimes of which they were formerly ignorant, and prevent them from lending an

ear to the instructions of the priests, when they daily hear and see words and actions so discordant to them in the old Christians. Indians returned from captivity amongst the Spaniards, Spaniards in captivity amongst the Indians, stranger from the cities, soldiers sent for the defence of the colonies, and Spanish guards appointed to take care of the cattle, were all certain plagues of the Abiponian colonies. I should never make an end were I to relate all I know on this subject. That the bad examples of the Christians greatly retarded the progress of religion amongst the Abipones, cannot be controverted. Let the old Christians of America become Christians in their conduct, and the Abipones, Mocobios, Tobas, Mataguayos, Chiriguanos, in a word, all the Indians of Paraguay will cease to be savages, and will embrace the law of Christ. This subject was treated of in the pulpit before the Royal Governor, Joseph Andonaegui, and a noble congregation, by the Jesuit P. Domingo Muriel, a Spaniard eminent for sanctity and learning, afterwards master of theology in the academy at Cordoba, and author of a most useful work intituled *Fasti Novi Orbis*, printed at Venice in the year 1776.

CHAPTER LXVI.

NO TRIFLING ADVANTAGES DERIVED FROM THE ABIPONIAN COLONIES, THOUGH FEWER THAN WERE EXPECTED.

THE four colonies of St. Jeronymo, Concepcion, St. Ferdinand, and the Rosary, were so many schools where the assembled nation of the Abipones were civilized and instructed in religion. Spite of innumerable obstacles which had long retarded the progress of our efforts, we succeeded in banishing superstition and barbarism, and in softening their ferocious manners by apostolic gentleness. Those who had formerly lived like wild beasts on the products of plunder or the chase, laid aside their detestation of labour, and applied themselves to agriculture; they who had before appeared most active and skilful in plundering, became afterwards most indefatigable in tilling the fields, and building themselves houses. Ychoalay, Kevachichi, Tannerchin, and others, the terror of the Spaniards, and the most fortunate chiefs of the whole nation, became diligent above the rest in ploughing and building, on their removal to colonies, and exhorted their hordesmen, whom they had formerly encouraged in slaughtering the Spaniards, to

follow their example. Almost all the inhabitants of St. Jeronymo, the capital town, and a great number in the other three colonies, received baptism. Many, both of the younger and older men, by the innocence of their lives, their attention to the Christian faith, their reverence for the church and for images, and their diligence in prayer and frequent use of the sacraments, gave solid proofs of piety towards God and the Saints; though the female sex always bore away the palm in the duties of religion. I have not time to relate every circumstance tending to verify what I have just advanced, but it would be wrong to omit them all.

Ychohake, a man distinguished by a hundred noxious arts, closed a life, infamous for crimes, by a noble death. Having long been declining, he desired to receive the sacrament a short while before his decease, and to evince his abhorrence of the superstitious rites of his nation, refused to admit any of the female jugglers, who usually attend the sick, into the house. For the same reason he desired by his last will that his horses and sheep might not be slain on his grave, according to the custom of the Abipones, but that they might be kept for the use of his little daughter. The more noble Indians dug his grave, at other times a

female office, with their hands, in a place which they had desired us to point out in the chapel, and, rejecting the lamentations of the women and other savage ceremonies, interred him according to the rites of the Church of Rome. Ychoalay was bathed in tears, and said he had now no brother left. Hemakie, and many others, whose lives had been employed in robbing and murdering the Spaniards, died in my presence in a manner worthy of a Christian. An Abiponian girl, converted to Christianity, concealed herself for many nights in a wood frequented by tigers and serpents, to avoid being forced into a marriage with Pazonoirin, a bitter enemy to religion. Intemperance in drinking began to decrease; polygamy and divorce were no longer generally practised; and the savage custom of killing their unborn babes was at length condemned by the mothers themselves. Many chose rather to endure the want of things which could hardly be dispensed with, than obtain them by arts to which they had long been familiarized, but which were forbidden by the divine law.

It is an undeniable fact that these colonies, in which the Abipones were confined like wild beasts in cages, were highly advantageous to all Paraguay. By means of them security was restored to the public roads, through which

merchants were in the habit of passing; and fresh estates were able to be founded and enriched with additions of cattle in places which had long been deserted for fear of the Abipones. By them too, the other savages, the Tobas, Mocobios, and Guaycurus, were prevented from continuing their usual inroads into the lands of the Spaniards, who were thus enabled to repose in safety and tranquillity in the bosom of peace, whilst we were keeping watch amongst the Abipones, and often exposing our lives to danger. I do not deny that many deserted their colonies, took up arms again, and, renewing their predatory excursions, plundered droves of horses from the undefended estates; but, as I have observed elsewhere, that was entirely the fault of the Spaniards themselves, who left none but women at home, having called out all the men to make war upon those seven Guarany towns, which, according to treaty, were to be delivered up to the Portugueze.

It is also most certain that many of the Abipones, after dwelling for years amongst us, still continued to reject baptism and religious instruction, and though blameless in other respects, obstinately adhered to their old customs. This grieved, but did not greatly surprize us: for were either the Jews, the

Greeks, or the Romans immediately convinced by the Apostles who taught the law of Christ? Were the temples and the synagogues overthrown in a few years? No; that was a work of ages, perfected by the toils and blood of numbers, and we have not yet reached the goal. Alas! how small a portion of the globe has sworn allegiance to Jesus Christ; numbers without number still observing the law of Moses, of Mahomet, of Confucius, of Nature; others even paying worship to idols! An aged oak, with roots deep fixed in the ground, is not felled at one blow. To eradicate the ridiculous superstitions of the Abipones, their habits of wandering and of plunder, confirmed by the example of their ancestors, and become as it were a second nature, appeared to many a business of infinite labour, and almost desperate success: for experience shows that the equestrian savages are harder to be civilized than the pedestrian tribes: their inveterate habit of roaming about the whole province, and committing depredations, is a sweet poison, which insinuates itself deep into the very marrow, and is with difficulty expelled. So thought St. Xavier, who, though he left no stone unturned to convert the neighbouring nations of Asia, and even the remote Chinese and Japonese, to Christianity, never attempted to instruct the Badajas,

an equestrian tribe in the bordering kingdom of Narsinga, or Bisnagur, foreseeing that in such an expedition he should lose the labour which, with greater and more certain success, he expended on other nations.

Notwithstanding the hardness and obstinacy of the equestrian nations, they were by no means to be neglected by the Apostolic labourers of Paraguay, as their conversion and civilization were of the greatest importance to the safety and tranquillity of the whole province. But many artifices must be made use of by those who have to instruct or deal with them in any way. They must be advised, admonished, and corrected, with singular mildness, and some indulgence; with them the maxim *festina lentè* should be put in practice, lest premature fervour and severity should suddenly destroy the hopes of future fruits. You will alarm the savages who have but just quitted the woods, and make them fly you, if, burning with the spirit of Elijah, you imprudently strive to abolish their rude, barbarous manners, and conform them exactly to the rule of Christian discipline, at the first trial. But though indulgence was always our aim, we did not think proper to connive at any thing contrary to religion, or injurious to others, which it was in our power to prevent. To procure immortal life

for dying infants, we often incurred danger of death from the opposing savages, who would rush upon us with spears, foolishly imagining that the ceremony of baptism accelerated dissolution. Even now I tremble at the remembrance of that night when Father Brigniel hastened to baptize an infant which he understood to be at the point of death, I accompanying him, and carrying the torch. Cacique Lichinrain, the father of the child, could be induced by no entreaties, threats, or expostulations, to suffer his little son to be baptized; which as he was endeavouring to effect against the will of the Cacique, the furious Kevachichi laid hands on him, and pulled him back, the rest of the by-standers expressing great indignation, and threatening us with every thing that was dreadful. The Cacique held his almost expiring son tight with both arms, and covered him all over with his clothes, so that he was entirely concealed. We, therefore, returned home without accomplishing our purpose: the infant, however, soon after recovering, put an end to our grief. How often, surrounded by swords and arrows, have we flown to prevent a crowd of drunken Abipones from rushing to mutual wounds and slaughter! If you read the annals of either India, you would be convinced that the Jesuits, who instructed the sa-

vages in the divine law, must have united apostolic severity with mild indulgence, whenever they had to contend for the glory of God, and for integrity of conduct. Above all admiration, and almost beyond belief, are the examples of magnanimity which the men of our order, employed in taming the ferocious nations of Paraguay, have left to posterity. What has not been endured and attempted for the love of God, by Roque Gonzalez, Barsena, Boroa, Ortega, Mendoza, Ruyz de Montoya, Mazzeta, Cataldino, Diaztaño, Lorenzana, Romero, Yegros, Zea, Castañares, Machoni, Strobel, Andreu, Brigniel, Nusdorffer, Cardiel, Fons, and their numerous imitators, many of whom ended an Apostolic life with a bloody and honourable death! I shall here subjoin a list of the names of those who were slain by the savages, or on their account, at various times and places. As I have not at hand the most approved historians of Paraguay, Father Nicolas del Techo, Doctor Francisco Xarque, and Pedro Lozano, who have given an accurate account of all these matters, I may perhaps omit some who deserve to be enrolled in this class of brave men; but I will faithfully record the names of all those who are mentioned in my notes.

P. Roque Gonzalez de Santa Cruz, born in

the city of Asumpcion; P. Alonzo Rodriguez, and P. Juan de Castillo, killed by the Guaranies in Caarò, in the year 1628, Nov. 15th.

P. Christoval de Mendoza, (who is said to have baptized ninety-five thousand Indians,) slain by the savage Guaranies in Tapè, in the year 1635, April 26. By the same savages, and at the same time, three hundred lately baptized infants were killed and devoured in the town of Jesus and Maria.

Fathers Gaspar Osorio, and Antonio Ripario, killed by the Chiriguanos, in the year 1639, April 1.

P. Diego Alfaro, shot by the Brazilian Mamalukes, in the year 1639, Jan. 19.

P. Alonzo Arias, and P. Christoval de Arenas, slain by the same Mamalukes, but at a different time and place.

P. Pedro Romero, and Brother Mateos Fernandez, his companion, slain by the Chiriguanos, in the land of Curupay, March 22d, 1645, for having said to the neophytes, *It is not permitted you to have two wives.*

P. Espinosa, killed by the Guapalaches, in the way to the city of Sta. Fè, whither he had been sent by P. Ruyz de Montoya, Superior of the Missions, to buy cotton for clothing the naked Indians.

P. Lucas Cavallero, wounded by the Pinzo-

casas with an arrow, and then dispatched with a club, Oct. 18th, 1711.

Father Bartholomew Blende, a Fleming, and P. Joseph de Arce, a native of the Canaries, slain by the Payaguas, anno 1715.

P. Blasio de Sylva, a native of Paraguay, formerly Provincial there, and P. Bartolome de Niebla, slain at another time by the same Payaguas.

P. Antonio Solinas, a Sard, and his companion the Reverend Don Pedro Ortiz de Zarate, a priest, to whose care the new colony of St. Raphael had been committed, slain on the same day by the Mocobios and Tobas, at the door of the church, near the river Senta.

P. Nicolas Mascardi went out with a number of Patagonians to seek the fabulous city De los Cesares, and, after an unsuccessful search, was slain on his return by the Poya Indians.

Brother Alberto Romero had his head cloven with an axe by the Zamucos in the year 1718.

P. Juliano Lizardi, a Biscayan, whilst ministering at the altar in the vale of Ingre, was dragged into a neighbouring field by the rebellious Chiriguanos, tied to a stake, and dispatched with thirty-seven arrows at the town of Concepcion.

P. Augustino Castañares, a native of Salta in Tucuman, slain with a club, as he was tra-

velling, by the Tobas and Mataguayos, Sept. 15, 1744.

P. Diego Herrero, going to the Guarany towns, was pierced with a spear by an Abipon near Cordoba, Feb. 18, 1747.

P. Francisco Ugalde, a Biscayan, killed by the Mataguayos with a shower of arrows, and burnt to ashes in the church, which was set on fire by the same savages with arrows headed with flaming tow.

P. Antonio Guasp, a Spaniard, taken by one Guaña, knocked down by another with a blow on the forehead from a club, and slain and wounded all over with a sword by their Cacique the Mbaya Oyomadigi, in the estate of the town Santissimo Corazon de Jesu, amongst the Chiquitos, anno 1764.

P. Martin Xavier, a Navarrese, a relative of St. Francis Xavier, and P. Balthasar Seña, starved to death among the Guaranies.

Father Hans Neümann, an Austrian, from fatigues endured in a wretched navigation of some months on the river Paraguæy, died at Asumpcion, Jan. 7, 1704.

Brother Henrique Adamo died of a disease which he contracted in a journey to the Chiquitos.

P. Lucas Rodriguez, after a long search of the fugitive Ytatines, amid continual showers

and thick woods, expired shortly on his return home.

P. Felix de Villa Garzia, a native of Castile, in a journey of some months, undertaken for the purpose of dicovering the same Ytatines in the Tarumensian woods, got an ulcer in his left eye, which continually streamed with blood and swarmed with worms, and which miserably tormented this pious man for many years, and at length put a period to his existence in the town of Sta. Rosa.

P. Romano Harto, a Navarrese, was dangerously wounded in the belly with two arrows by those Mataguayos who slew and burnt his companion Ugalde.

Father Joseph Klein, a Bohemian, who acquitted himself admirably amongst the Abipones for twenty years, received a blow on the head from a young man of that nation, which laid him prostrate on the ground, where he lay for some time senseless and bathed in his own blood, in the town of St. Ferdinand.

Father Martin Dobrizhoffer, whilst defending his own house and the chapel against six hundred savages in the town of the Rosary, had his right arm pierced with a barbed arrow, the muscle of his middle finger hurt, and one rib wounded by a savage Toba, at four o'clock in

the morning, on the 2d of August, in the year 1765.

All these, and many more perhaps, employed in establishing the religion of Christ amongst the various nations of Paraguay, courageously parted with their lives, or shed their blood in the cause. Happy they who were allowed to die for the sake of the Gospel! We who survived, though partakers of their toils and dangers, seemed unworthy of so noble a fate as our comrades in not being permitted to end our lives in Paraguay. The royal mandate by which we were ordered to return to Europe, for reasons still unknown to us, being, in the words of the decree, confined to the King's own breast, was bitterer to us than any death; it did in fact hasten that of many who are at this moment floating on the ocean, or who fell victims to a voyage of four, nay of five months. Out of some thirty Jesuits who were carried to Europe from the port of Buenos-Ayres, five only reached Cadiz half alive, not to mention many others who underwent the same fate in sailing from other countries of Asia or America. All well disposed persons grieved that men distinguished for piety and knowledge of various kinds, who had rendered such signal services to Christianity and to America, and who had been

apostolic fishers of savage nations, should become at last the prey of sea-fishes.

I, who, though exiled from Paraguay, have by God's grace been preserved till now in my native land, derive the greatest satisfaction from the recollection of the toils which I encountered for many years in endeavouring to make the Abipones and Guaranies acquainted with the will of God; though my success never answered to my wishes, especially amongst the Abipones, who, like other equestrian savages, are of an indocile and untractable disposition. Yet no one can call the labour we spent on them subject of regret, or the colonies useless in which they were placed; for besides that by them tranquillity was restored to the whole province, many of the Abipones, infants as well as adults, were initiated into the rites of the Romish church, and brought over to peace and civilization. Nor can it be doubted that many who died ere they enjoyed the use of their reason, but had been baptized beforehand, were admitted into the society of the blest; I also think that many adults who received that holy ablution obtained the same felicity. I am not acquainted with the exact number of Abipones, who were baptized in those four colonies.

In the soil of the Guaranies the harvest was much more abundant. From the year 1610,

till the year 1768, 702,086 Guaranies were baptized by the hands of the Jesuits, not including those who received baptism from men of our order in the ancient towns destroyed by the Mamalukes, most of which contained many thousands of Christians. About two thousand persons, infants as well as adults, were baptized by me alone.

In the last fifty years which the Jesuits spent in Paraguay, 18,875 infants were sent to Heaven, having received baptism, and being devoid of reason, and consequently of sin. That you may not think this an exaggeration, I must tell you that in the year 1732 those thirty Guarany towns situated near the Parana and Uruguay contained 141,182 Christians. The repeated ravages of the meazles and small-pox, military expeditions in the Royal Camps against the Portugueze, tumults of war on account of the Guarany Reductions, bloody incursions against the savages, and various diseases, had so diminished the number of inhabitants that, on our return to Europe, we left scarce one hundred thousand Guaranies, though twenty years before the two colonies of Ytatines, St. Joachim, and St. Stanislaus, each containing almost five thousand inhabitants, had been added to the thirty ancient towns.

I also find it recorded in my notes that from

the year 1747 till the year 1766, 91,520 persons were baptized in those thirty-two Guarany towns.

The ten towns of the Chiquitos in the year 1766, contained 23,788 Indians, men and women. All except a few catechumens, who had but lately quitted the woods, were excellent Christians, formidable to their foes, and useful to the Spaniards. The other colonies of various nations founded and governed by us in the province of Chaco were reckoned the same year to contain 5,424 Christians. I am not acquainted with the exact number of Christians in each of these colonies; this only I know that the town of St. Francis Xavier supported about a thousand Christian Mocobios in the year 1766, and that of St. Jeronymo about eight hundred Christian Abipones. The town of St. Ferdinand contained no more than two hundred; the rest of the inhabitants were only catechumens. I do not know the number of Abipones that received baptism in the towns of Concepcion and the Rosary. I have been the more diffuse in this enumeration in order to make you understand how much more successful the priests were amongst the pedestrian than amongst the equestrian nations, the conversion of which was a matter of so much more time and labour, that the progress of Christianity amongst the Abi-

pones, though it did not equal our wishes, exceeded the expectations of the Spaniards. I have given this account of the Abipones with the greatest fidelity possible, though not in the most elegant style. Veracity was more my aim than polished language. The judicious reader will pardon any rusticity of expression in an author who has passed so many years amongst savages in the woods of America.

THE END.

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